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YIDDISH



# ARABIC ELEMENTS IN PALESTINIAN YIDDISH

THE OLD ASHKENAZIC  
JEWISH COMMUNITY IN PALESTINE  
ITS HISTORY AND ITS LANGUAGE

BY  
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*To my beloved*

*J U D I T H*

*this book is affectionately  
dedicated*





## P R E F A C E

The purpose of this study, *Arabic Elements in Palestinian Yiddish*, is to demonstrate how these elements penetrated into Yiddish as a result of intercommunal relations under conditions in which different ethnic groups were thrown together in a small area over a considerable length of time.

The study is based upon material secured through direct questioning or in course of conversation with members of the Ashkenazic community during my years in Palestine. It is supported from historical and literary sources. Being aware of the fact that the material presented here was collected chiefly in Jerusalem (with some in Tiberias and Safed), I do not claim to offer a complete picture of the linguistic condition of the Old Ashkenazic community. But I hope that even in its present form the study gives a fair characterization of the language relations as gathered from the vocabulary.

To add to the picture, I have also included numerous loan-words from *Frenkish* (known also as Shpaniolish, Ladino, Džudezmo, Judaeo-Spanish) as well as Hebrew and Yiddish usages characteristic of the vernacular of the Ashkenazic community. These are to be found in the appendices.

A few words about the method of collecting the material for this study: I began in 1927, two years after my arrival in Palestine. I lived in Jerusalem from 1928 until August, 1937, when I left for the United States. While in Jerusalem I had the opportunity to meet Ashkenazim of the Old *Yishuv* (=community), especially those living in the ancient part of the city, within the Walls, and in the Jewish quarter Mea She'arim, outside the Walls, keeping systematic notes of my conversations with them. This yielded considerable material.

The correctness of these notes has been checked by my friend, Mr. Gershon Cohen, born in Jerusalem in 1890, and by

## VI

his father, the late Aaron Cohen, himself a native of the city and the first librarian (hence the name by which he was commonly known, "Aarn safren," i.e. "Librarian Aaron") of the Jerusalem Lodge of "Bnai Brith." I also had the good fortune to secure the help of R. Yehiel Tchemerinsky, pioneer in the home-production of articles of olive-wood by the Jews in Jerusalem, where he settled in 1871, dying there during World War Two.

Where possible the entries have been checked with Leonhard Bauer, *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch. Deutsch-Arabisch*, Leipzig-Jerusalem, 1933.

The entries are followed by references from literary sources, minute books (takkanoth), itineraries, memoirs, manuscripts and the like, where mention is made of Arabic loan-words, and which testify to the continuity of their use during the past three centuries.

Preliminary notes from my collected material, "Concerning the Yiddish language of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish Community in Palestine" [Yiddish], were first published in Vol. VI (1932), pp. 43-50 of *Yivo Bleter*, bi-monthly of the Yiddish Scientific Institute—Yivo, Vilno, Poland (now active in New York as the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research). The material included in Appendix I has appeared previously in my "Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine (A Study in Intercommunal Relations)", *Homenaje A Millás-Vallicrosa*, Vol. I, (Barcelona, 1954), pp. 753-788.

Most of the foregoing was used to preface my dissertation *Arabic Elements in the Yiddish Language of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish Community in Palestine*, submitted in 1947 to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University in accordance with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and accepted as an original contribution to linguistic research and to the history of culture.

The dissertation has been retained here in its original form with some minor changes. To it has been added chapter XV, which includes additional Arabisms in Palestinian Yiddish, for which the material was secured during my residence

in New York through my friend, Mr. Ammihud Nahmani, who was born in Rehovoth, Palestine. This supplementary chapter contains additional Arabic words, sayings and phrases originating mainly with the Jewish settlers in the "colonies" (settlements) in Judaea. Also noted, in part, are some vocables of the Yiddish in Jerusalem. I am grateful for this supplement to Mr. Nahmani, who, however, bears no responsibility for its phrasing.

In the meantime, political events have brought about a fundamental change: the Ashkenazic Jewish community in the Old City of Jerusalem has ceased to exist. In May, 1948, the Jewish quarter was destroyed by the Arab Legion of Transjordan in its war, with five other Arab states, against the new State of Israel, the establishment of which had been sanctioned by the United Nations. The old synagogues were burnt to the ground, Jewish houses, schools and institutions were demolished, and the community itself was dispersed outside the gates of Old Jerusalem, the able-bodied men being taken into captivity (to be freed later). Thus, a Jewish community with three hundred years of continuous existence in Old Jerusalem came to a tragic end.

This study, then, may be read as a work of history in substance and character. It is in a sense a monument to a life that was and is no more. This is especially true when we take into account the fact that since the establishment of the State of Israel the members of the Old Ashkenazic community have, with few exceptions, been integrated into the new society. There is no longer a distinct Old Ashkenazic community as here presented. The linguistic pattern also has undergone profound change, as I was able to ascertain during my visit to Israel in the summer of 1963. The reader should bear these facts constantly in mind, for in many instances the situation described here no longer exists.

In conclusion, any work in Jewish scholarship that offers a contribution to learning and is at the same time a tribute to human spiritual achievement, brings to the forefront the greatest catastrophe in Jewish history — the extermination of six million Jews in Europe by the German murderers. While

## VIII

mentioning the personal loss of my sister *Etl* and my brother *Shimon*, the Talmudic scholar of the *Slobodker Yeshive*, along with close and distant relatives of this author in his hometown Vilno, Lithuania, as well as those of my wife Judith, a native of Wolbrom, Poland, the destruction of Jewish cultural life has also found its expression in this study. Jewish scholars in Europe were slaughtered by the Germans with the millions of unnamed people, and the tragedy is brought to the readers' mind by the notation "murdered by the Germans" whenever the names of these scholars are mentioned in this study so that their sacred memory shall not be forgotten.

*The Author*

New York, January, 1966

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express appreciation to all those who have given me encouragement and counsel in bringing this study to completion. These expressions of gratitude, of course, do not involve any responsibility on their part for either the form or the contents of the work.

To my teacher, Dr. William F. Albright, W.W. Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages at the Johns Hopkins University, I am deeply indebted for guidance and assistance throughout the years of my study under him at the Oriental Seminary and for his constructive criticisms of the manuscript in all its stages. His intimate knowledge of Palestine and its inhabitants has been an inexhaustible source of information.

Two discriminating readers of my dissertation have not lived to see the book in its final form. My teacher, the late Dr. Frank R. Blake, Associate Professor of Oriental Languages, called my attention to many a detail, especially in Phonetics, and assisted me in many other ways.

Dr. Leo Spitzer, late Professor of Romance Philology at Johns Hopkins University, read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions in philological problems.

The staff of the University Library, with Dr. Homer Halverson, Librarian, were helpful, through the Inter-Library Loan, in securing manuscripts, rare editions and other publications from the libraries of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio; and Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

I am grateful to the Johns Hopkins University for awarding me, through its Academic Council, the William S. Rayner Fellowship in Semitic Studies for the academic year 1945/46.

My thanks are also due to my friend, the bibliographer Dr. Isaac Rivkind, Librarian Emeritus of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, for his assistance in verifying a number of bibliographical entries.

I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Semah Cecil Hyman, of Jerusalem, for helpful suggestions, for revision of the final text and for seeing it through the press.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Rubin Mass, publisher, who spared no effort in publishing this book — a task which called for detailed care on his part.

The compositor, Mr. Shlomo Brettler, and the Ahva Co-operative Printing Press also deserve my thanks for completing a technically difficult task.

I am particularly grateful to the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation and to the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation for their grants for the publication of this study.

Above all, I am indebted to my wife, Judith H. Kosover, who, despite hardships during my years of study, has been of unflinching aid. But for her encouragement this study would never have been brought to completion.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	... ..	V
Acknowledgments	... ..	VIII
Transliterations	... ..	XIII
Abbreviations	... ..	XV

## PART ONE

*The Old Ashkenazic Jewish Community  
in Palestine (an Historical Review)*

<b>Chapter I.</b>	<b>The Beginnings</b> ... ..	<b>3</b>
<b>Chapter II.</b>	<b>The Sephardim Appear on the Scene</b> ... ..	<b>12</b>
<b>Chapter III.</b>	<b>The Ashkenazic Community takes Shape</b> ... ..	<b>33</b>
<b>Chapter IV.</b>	<b>The Struggle for Existence</b> ... ..	<b>44</b>
	1. Legal Status ... ..	<b>44</b>
	2. Social-Economic Structure ... ..	<b>57</b>
<b>Chapter V.</b>	<b>Conflicts between Ashkenazim and Sephardim</b> ...	<b>76</b>

## PART TWO

*Arabic Elements in the Yiddish Language  
of the Ashkenazim in Palestine*

Chapter I.	The Old Ashkenazic Community becomes acquainted with the Arabic Language ... ..	97
Chapter II.	Linguistic Characteristics ... ..	116
	1. Phonology ... ..	116
	A. Consonants ... ..	119
	1 Laryngeals ... ..	119
	2 Velars ... ..	120
	3 Dentals ... ..	122
	4 Interdentals ... ..	125
	5 Bilabials ... ..	125
	6 Doubling of Consonants ... ..	126

B. Vowels ... ..	126
7 Characteristic Vowel	
Changes ... ..	126
8 Addition of Vowels ... ..	129
9 Loss of Vowels ... ..	129
10 Diphthongs ... ..	130
11 Accent ... ..	130
2. Morphology ... ..	130
A. Nouns ... ..	130
12 Gender ... ..	130
13 Formation of Plurals ... ..	131
1. Change of Ending	131
2. Suffixes ... ..	132
B. Verbs ... ..	132
14 The Infinitive ... ..	132
15 The Perfect ... ..	133
3. Syntax ... ..	134

### PART THREE

#### *Vocabulary*

Chapter I.	Interjections ... ..	137
Chapter II.	Greetings, Good Wishes, Oaths, Curses, Abusive Words. ... ..	144
Chapter III.	Words expressing Quality, Condition, Social Standard	153
Chapter IV.	Miscellaneous Expressions ... ..	162
Chapter V.	Administrative Terms ... ..	176
	1. Officials ... ..	181
	2. Legal Documents ... ..	187
	3. Administrative Institutions, Penalties ... ..	191
	4. Taxes ... ..	196
	5. Miscellaneous Expressions ... ..	206
	6. Expressions no longer Current ... ..	209
Chapter VI.	The Neighbors of the Ashkenazim (Jews and non-Jews) ... ..	212
	1. Expressions concerning Ashkenazim and Sephardim ... ..	212
	2. Expressions concerning non-Jews (Muslims and Christians) ... ..	220
Chapter VII.	House, Kitchen and Utensils ... ..	232
Chapter VIII.	Food, Beverages, Vegetables, Fruit ... ..	245
Chapter IX.	Occupations, Trades ... ..	259



## XII

Chapter X.	Commerce, Money, Weights and Measures ... ..	272
Chapter XI.	Clothing ... ..	276
Chapter XII.	Pastimes, Amusements ... ..	280
Chapter XIII.	Farmers' Language ... ..	283
Chapter XIV.	Folk Medicine ... ..	289
Chapter XV.	Additional Arabisms in Palestinian Yiddish ... ..	296
Omissions and Corrections	... ..	346

### *Appendices:*

I.	Ladino Words in Palestinian Yiddish ... ..	351
II.	Specific Hebrew Loan Words in Palestinian Yiddish ... ..	358
III.	Characteristic Yiddish Words and Expressions ... ..	364
IV.	Documents ... ..	378
V.	Arabic-Yiddish Vocabularies (An annotated Bibliography) ...	390
Bibliography	... ..	409
Word Index	... ..	425
I.	Arabic Words ... ..	425
II.	Arabic-Yiddish Words ... ..	436
Facsimilies and Reproductions of Documents and Title Pages	(pp. 19, 106, 107, 208, 237-238, 392, 394, 396, 400, 402, 404).	

## TRANSLITERATIONS

I. *Arabic*

أ	a	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	ṭ	ع	‘
ج	ǧ	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḫ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ḏ	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	š	و	w
ص	ṣ	ي	y

II. *Hebrew and Yiddish*

Sound	Hebrew	Yiddish	Sound	Hebrew	Yiddish
א	a		ל	l	l
מ		a	מ (מ)	m	m
נ		o	נ (ן)	n	n
ב	b	b	ס	s	s
ב	b		ע	'	e
ג	g	g	פ	p	p
ד	d	d	פ (ף)	f	f
ה	h	h	צ (ץ)	c	c (=ts)
ו	v	u	ק	q	k
וו		v	ר	r	r
וי		oy	ש	š	š
ז	z	z	ט	s	
ח	ḥ		ת	t	
ט	ṭ	t	ת	th	
י	i	i	Slavic Sounds in Yiddish		
יי		ay	יד		dz
יי		ey	יש		dž
כ	k		ש		ž
כ (ך)	k	kh	טש		č

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Bauer</i>	Leonhard Bauer, Das Palästinische Arabisch, Die Dialekte des Städters und des Fellachen. Leipzig, 1913.
<i>BW</i>	Leonhard Bauer, Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch. Deutsch—Arabisch. Leipzig-Jerusalem, 1933.
<i>Dozy, Oosterlingen</i>	D. Dozy, Oosterlingen. Verklarende Lijst der nederlandsche Woorden die uit het Arabisch, Hebreeuwsch, Chaldeeuwisch, Perzisch en Turksch Afkomstig zijn. 'S — Gravenhage, 1867.
<i>Fraenkel</i>	Siegmund Fraenkel, Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter in Arabischen. Leiden, 1886.
<i>Harkavy, Dictionary</i>	Alexander Harkavy, Yiddish - English - Hebrew Dictionary. New York, 1928.
<i>Hyamson, I, II</i>	Albert M. Hyamson, The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838-1914. Part I: 1838-1861. London, 1939; Part II: 1862-1914. London, 1941.
<i>Jastrow</i>	Marcus Jastrow, A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babil and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York-Berlin, 1926.
<i>JGJJ</i>	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums (edited by Ludwig Philippson et al.)
<i>JPOS</i>	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review (New Series).
<i>Littmann, Wörter</i>	Enno Littmann, Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen. Berlin, 1920.
<i>Littmann, Zig. Arab</i>	Enno Littmann, Zigeuner-Arabisch, Wortschatz und Grammatik der Arabischen Bestandteile in den morgenländischen Zigeunersprachen. Bonn-Leipzig, 1920.
<i>Löhr</i>	Max Löhr, Der vulgärarabische Dialekt von Jerusalem. Nebst Texten und Wörterverzeichnis. Giessen, 1905.

## XVI

- Lokotsch* Karl Lokotsch, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs. Heidelberg, 1927.
- Löw, Flora* Immanuel Löw, Die Flora der Juden. Wien-Leipzig, 1924-34.
- Meyer-Lübke* W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg, 1935<sup>3</sup>.
- MGWJ* Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
- Reshumoth* Reshumoth (Hebrew scientific periodical devoted to Folklore and Ethnology). Edited by A. Druyanov, H. Ravnitzky and H. N. Bialyk, 6 vols. Odessa-Tel Aviv, 1918-30.
- Wagner, Beiträge* Max Leopold Wagner, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des judenspanischen von Konstantinopel. Wien 1914.
- Yivo Bleter* Yivo Bleter. Journal of the Yiddish Scientific Institute. Vilno, 1931-1939; New York, 1940 — (publication continues).
- ZDPV* Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
- Zion* Zion (Hebrew scientific periodical of the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society). Vols. I-VI. Jerusalem, 1926-1934.
- Zion* Zion (New Series). A Quarterly for Research in Jewish History. Edited by Yitzhak Baer and Ben-Zion Dinaburg. Published by the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society. Jerusalem, 1935 — (publication continues).

PART ONE  
THE OLD ASHKENAZIC  
JEWISH COMMUNITY  
IN PALESTINE  
(AN HISTORICAL REVIEW)



## CHAPTER I

## THE BEGINNINGS

Up till the first half of the nineteenth century the old Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine did not grow from within, but from outside through a succession of small immigration movements. Our information concerning these pilgrim emigrants from Europe, who came to fulfill their desire of "prostrating themselves on the graves of their forefathers" and to live out their good old age in the Holy Land, is scant. It is based chiefly on narratives and itineraries written by both Jews and non-Jews.

A call to Jews in Germany to migrate to Palestine came with the fall of the Byzantine power. In 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Turks under Sultan Muhammad II, and a few years later R. Isaac Zarfati, the head of the Ashkenazic community in Adrianople, issued his manifesto<sup>1</sup> "to the holy Jewish communities in Germany to inform them about the best of the land of Turkey and the advantages of the Turkish kingdom." There he mentions a prohibition against Jews crossing the high seas: "Now a decree was issued by which Jews are not to cross the seas, and they are bewildered, for the sea is barred to them." The decree was issued in 1428 by the Republic of Venice in retaliation for the expulsion of the Franciscan monks from the "tomb of King David" in Jerusalem. It was abrogated only about 1480.<sup>2</sup>

1. Published by Adolf Jellinek, קונטרס לזמרת חתני (Leipzig, 1854), 14—; Salomon A. Rosanes, *A History of the Jews in Turkey* (Hebrew) — דברי ימי ישראל בתורמה — (Tel Aviv, 1930), 15-16. The subsequent vols. II-V (Sofia, 1934-1938), are entitled קורות היהודים בתורמיה וארצות הקדם.

2. H. Graetz, Verbot der Auswanderung der Juden aus Europa nach Palästina, *MGWJ*, 22 [1873], 284, is of the opinion that R. Isaac Zarfati's letter was written between the years 1440 and 1445. Rosanes (*op. cit.*, 16, n. 29) dates it to the years 1427-1430; the views of the



After relating of himself that "I was expelled from my native country, and I came here in the land of Turkey, a land not lacking any good thing, which God meant it for good", R. Isaac Zarfati assures his brethren that the passage to Turkey is safe "and every day groups of Turkish and Jewish merchants go out in large caravans... as one would go to a fiesta", exhorting them to come to Palestine and Turkey where they will no longer be subjected to abuses and vexations such as those experienced "in the countries of Germany and its neighborhood." His letter ends in a composite of Biblical passages: "And now do not be indolent and do not slacken! Israel, return! Rise up to your resting place and let thine enemies be scattered!... And now Israel, what meanest thou that thou sleepest? Go in and possess the land which the Lord gives to you... Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel, for in days to come shall Jacob take root, Israel shall blossom and bud, and they shall come that were lost in the land of Aškenaz [Germany] and they that were dispersed in the land of Zarfat [France], and they shall prostrate themselves on the holy mountain at Jerusalem."<sup>3</sup>

From evidence gathered from that period it is obvious that the manifesto impressed those whom it reached. German Jews did not need to be told that the rulers under whose sway they were living and their Christian neighbors "accuse them with evil charges for no transgression... and that no Jew is allowed to go on with his work or open his store on their holidays."

Thus we note in the 15th century a migration, albeit small, of German Jews to Palestine. Details of it are to be found scattered through the Rabbinic literature of the time<sup>4</sup> as well as in the accounts of Jewish and non-Jewish travellers.<sup>5</sup>

former are more convincing. Additional material was published by Joseph Braslawski (*Zion*, II 1936, 56f.) expressing the view that the decree was in force until 1487, while M. Schulwas in his notes on the immigration of German Jews to Palestine in the 15th century (*ibid.*, III [1938], 86-87) proves that it was abolished in 1480 or the beginning of 1481 at the latest. He refers to the fact that the traveller R. Meshulam of Volterra returned in 1481 from Palestine to Europe via *Venice*.

3. In quoting the passages I have availed myself of the Bible translation of the Jewish Publication Society.

4. For these see H. J. Zimmels, *Erez Israel in Responenliteratur des späten Mittelalters*, *MGWJ*, 74 (1930), 44-64.

5. For the latter, see Joseph Braslawski, *Zion*, II (1936), 64-69.

A small Ashkenazic Jewish community already existed in Jerusalem, as attested by contemporary pilgrims. One of these was R. Meshulam from Volterra (or perhaps Valtelina, a valley in the Sondrio region of Italy) who arrived in Jerusalem in 1481 and wrote a detailed account of his journey. "Travelling from Venice, his itinerary included the island of Rhodes, Alexandria, Cairo, from where he went on to Palestine following the route Ḥan Yūnis, Gaza, Hebron and Jerusalem, where he remained from July 29 to August 26. He returned via Damascus and Beirut, whence a Venetian boat carried him home.

His description shows him to be an excellent observer, with a keen eye for details, which are explained in Italian terms since he was unable to express himself adequately in Hebrew. Wherever he goes, he seeks out fellow Jews and describes what he sees and hears.

From the figures given by R. Meshulam it appears that the whole Jewish community in Palestine was small. Thus in Gaza were to be found "about fifty (or sixty) Jewish families"<sup>7</sup>; in Hebron "are living no more than about twenty (eighty) Jewish families"<sup>8</sup>; while in Jerusalem "about two hundred and fifty Jewish families reside among ten thousand Arab families"<sup>9</sup> — in all 320 families with over 1,500 souls (or 390 families with nearly 2,000 souls if we accept the corrected figures).

Of Ashkenazim mention is made in connection with his visit in Jerusalem. The community was apparently small and not noticeable. Those whom R. Meshulam mentions by name are Ashkenazim from Italy. One of them, R. Jacob Colvarani, knew how to prepare his native diet for him and thus saved his life when he was lying ill.

Among the "prominent Jews" whom he met in Jerusalem he mentions "R. Joseph da Montagna, an Ashkenazi, and he

6. In the following I quote from the (not too reliable) edition in *Ozar Massaoth*, (אוצר מסעות) A (Hebrew) Collection of Itineraries by Jewish Travelers, etc., edited by J. D. Eisenstein (New York, 1926), 86-106.

7. *Ibid.*, 96.

8. *Ibid.*, 98.

9. *Ibid.*, 100.

is the leader of the community", <sup>10</sup> "and one among the enlightened men is R. Shalmon Ashkenazi, a Rabbi". <sup>11</sup> In a letter from the former written to his family about his journey to Jerusalem <sup>12</sup> he informs them, among other things, of the "Italian-Ashkenazic community" and of his visiting the Ashkenazic cemetery there.

All these data, however, are no more than fragmentary and do not add up to a complete picture of the Jewish community in Palestine and particularly of the Ashkenazim. Along what lines was its internal life organized? What conditions prevailed in Palestine and to what political regime was the country subject? These and similar questions are answered at length by the traveller R. Obadiah da Bertinoro, known for his commentary on the Mishnah, who, after a year's journey, arrived at Jerusalem in 1488 from Castello, Italy. His observations are contained in three letters to his family. <sup>13</sup>

Arriving from Italy, a well organized state, R. Obadiah was faced with entirely contrasting political conditions. His visit to Palestine took place during the last decades of the Mameluke rule under despotic Sultans who wielded power of life and death over the population and exacted from it heavy taxes. This, aggravated by the ambitions of petty chiefs and their subordinates, produced a chronic state of strife and

10. *Ibid.*, 101.

11. *Ibid.*, 102.

12. Published in *ירושלים* ed. by A. M. Luncz, VI (1904), 336f.; *המקור*, III (1919), 89-92; reprinted by Abraham Yaari, *Epistles from Palestine — אגרות ארץ ישראל* — (Tel Aviv, 1943), 92. See also the notes by S. H. Kook, *Zion* (ציון) I (1936), 255-256.

13. They were first published by Senior Sachs, together with a German translation by Adolf Neubauer, in Ludwig Philippson's *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums* (=JGJJ), III (1863), 193-224; reprinted with corrections by A. M. Luncz in *המקור*, III (1919), 93-150, with bibliographical data; published separately, entitled *המסע המסע לארץ ישראל בשנת רמ"ד* Berlin, 1922. Only two letters are published in these editions, lengthy excerpts of which, with corrections by Moritz Steinschneider (based on his "Hand-exemplar" at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York) are included by Abraham Kahana in his *Jewish Historical Literature* (Hebrew), II (Warsaw, 1923), 35-53. A third letter was published, with an introduction, by Alexander Marx in *ספר השנה של ארץ ישראל*, II-III (1925), 97-99. For an analysis of these epistles, see Menahem Hartum, *Concerning the letters of R. Obadiah da Bertinoro*, III (Jerusalem, 1942), 112-124. He mentions a critical edition of the epistles in preparation. In the following I translate from the Sachs edition in JGJJ.

anarchy. In addition, the ever-present threat to Palestine in the surge of the Bedouins from east to west was in his time again in full swing. As he states: "The Arabs residing in the deserts are overflowing everywhere, and they have even reached the gates of Jerusalem, stealing and robbing on the highways, with none escaping from their hands. The country is full of them, and that is the reason why all of these places [Transjordan and the south-eastern part of Palestine] are desolate deserts without inhabitants to till or sow."<sup>14</sup>

As for the inhabitants of the cities and the kind of justice prevailing there, R. Obadiah again notes: "If not for their fearing the Lord, it would be impossible to live [among them], for the political administration is weak, and so is the maintenance of order, as they do not fear the state at all. Moreover they do not have just laws, and they pervert judgment according to their desire... False witnesses may be procured among the [non-Jewish] nations in Jerusalem, for in their courts witnesses are not examined and needless to say they are not under oath, and the sentence is instantly rendered on the basis of their testimony. If justice were practised in like manner in the countries of the Gentiles, one would devour his neighbor alive."<sup>15</sup>

Administrative anarchy on the one hand and lawlessness on the other — these were the conditions to which the country was subjected, and they bred only evil for the small Jewish minority. R. Obadiah found a "very large Jewish quarter" in Jerusalem but with collapsed houses which could not be rebuilt, "for the laws of the country are that no Jew is allowed to restore his collapsed house or courtyard without a permit, and very often such a permit involves great expenses exceeding the cost of building the house."<sup>16</sup>

Apart from all these disabilities from above, there was unbearable oppression from within, due to the strong-arm rule of the "elders" of the Jewish community, the "šuyūḥ el-yahūd",

14. *JGJJ*, 219.

15. *JGJJ*, 215-216. The same opinion is expressed by an anonymous Jewish traveller in 1495: "In all these countries there is no justice and no [honest] judge, especially when Jews litigate with Muslims." (*Ibid.*, 279).

16. *Ibid.*, 215.

appointed by the Nagid of Egypt (the representative of Near-Eastern Jewry to the Mameluke government, who bore the title "ra'is el-yahūd").<sup>17</sup> The main task of the elders was to collect the taxes imposed by the state on the Jewish community, which had silently to bear the heavy burden. Their rule was a copy in miniature of that of the government authorities, with all its evil features.

Such was the opinion of R. Obadiah, expressed in strongly condemnatory words in his account of the Jewish community in Jerusalem, which had numbered about three hundred families but of whom he found no more than remnants when he arrived. "There were nearly three hundred families", he tells us, "but they slipped out [of Jerusalem] one by one on account of the heavy taxes and the burdens imposed upon them by the elders, the residents of the country, and there remained in Jerusalem only the poor people and women, and there is almost no one to be called 'a man'. The authority of these wicked elders is strong to such an extent that they even sold all the Torah-scrolls to Gentiles... As well as all the Talmudic and Rabbinical books — and there were many of them, not to be counted — which had been donated to the hospice by the *Ashkenazim* arriving there. They were all sold by the elders."<sup>18</sup>

In another entry in R. Obadiah's letter from Jerusalem the city is described as being desolate and ruined. In a population of nearly 20,000 ("about four thousand families") there were only seventy Jewish families, living in destitution, the majority elderly impoverished widows, "Ashkenazic, Sephardic women, as well as from other countries."<sup>19</sup>

We do not know what proportion of the Jewish community the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem formed, but from the fact that they are mentioned at length by R. Obadiah we may conclude that they made up the majority, as may be inferred, for instance, from the following: "And the courtyard in which the synagogue is housed, is very large. There are many houses

17. On the office of the Nagid of Egypt see Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies*, I. 394 ff.

18. *JGJ*, 209.

19. *Ibid.*, 213.

in it, all bequeathed by Ashkenazim [from abroad] and Ashkenazic widows reside there. Numerous courtyards were in the Jewish quarter in Jerusalem, all given in bequest, but they were sold by the elders. Only the hospice of the Ashkenazim remained and they could not sell it because it was bequeathed to Ashkenazim and no other poor people have a share in it.”<sup>20</sup>

R. Obadiah also mentions individual Ashkenazim whom he met. When he arrived at Jerusalem he was met by “an Ashkenazi, who was raised in Italy, by the name of R. Kaufmann (”אשכנזי אחד אשר נחגול באיטליא שמו ר' קפמאנר”) who brought me to his house, and with whom I lodged during the days of Passover.”<sup>21</sup> There he became acquainted with “an Ashkenazic Rabbi who grew up in Jerusalem... and he used [to engage in] weaving by day or at night-time, whenever he turned his attention away from studying [the Talmudic law].”<sup>22</sup> Still another Ashkenazic Rabbi from Jerusalem whom he mentions by name he met in Gaza: “...The city is as large and beautiful as Jerusalem... and there is an Ashkenazic Rabbi, called R. Moses from Prague, who escaped from Jerusalem [apparently because of the persecution by the ‘elders’ mentioned above] and he brought me into his house against my will, and I stayed with him during all my days in Gaza.”<sup>23</sup> A year later, 1489, in his second letter from Jerusalem, R. Obadiah tells of his organizing a group to study the Talmud, adding that “two Ashkenazic Rabbis are with us, and let us hope that this country will be rebuilt and re-established, for the King [the Mamlūk Sultan ašraf šēf ed-dīn Qāit Bey, 1468-95] sent a letter in which he emphatically stated that no Jew residing in Jerusalem shall pay any other tax but that imposed on him personally [apparently the ḥarāḡ, poll-tax].”<sup>24</sup>

20. *JGJ*, 215.

21. *Ibid.*, 213.

22. *JGJ*, 216. Of the same Rabbi, R. Obadiah da Bertinoro writes in his second letter from Jerusalem, dated 27 Elul 1489: “An aged Ashkenazic Rabbi, who was born and raised in this city, told me that from his early years he remembers the arrival of Jews from ‘Aden.” (*Ibid.*, 223).

23. *Ibid.*, 211.

24. *Ibid.*, 223-224.

Some information about Ashkenazim in Jerusalem is corroborated by, among others, a contemporary pilgrim, the German knight Arnold von Harff from Cologne, who in the years 1496-99 travelled through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine and Turkey, returning to his homeland via Spain and France, and who wrote down his interesting experiences and adventures in a book.<sup>25</sup> Wherever he travelled, he tried to find Jews of his native country, familiar with the German language, with the purpose of facilitating his stay among the "Heyden" ["Gentiles", as the Muslims were called by the Christian pilgrims], his deep rooted anti-semitism notwithstanding. He sought their company, though at the same time he warned his "brethren" abroad against the German Jews in the Near East, and especially in Palestine, who are always ready to hand them over to the authorities.

At the beginning of 1498, Arnold von Harff arrived in Jerusalem, and the following is his note about the Jewish community there and his encounter with three German Jews:

"Item bynnen Jherusalem wonent gar vil juden, daer vnder etzliche geleirde doctores der christlicher leyr vss Lumbardien geboeren waeren ind tzweyn cristen munchen, die bynnen dryn jaeren van deme cristlichen geloyuen geuallen waeren zoe deme jutschen seckt, dae ich gar vil reden vsahoe-longen ind fraegonge mit hat, dey mir yetzont zo wijt vallent zo schrijuen. ouch vant ich drij duytsche juden bynnen Jherusalem ind ouch sus in allen heydenschen ind turckschen steden, dae ich mit duck geselschaft moist halden vmb der spraichen wil, wilcher alphabet ich schriuen leert ind ouch van yerrer deglicher sprachen etzlige woert behielt, as hij vff die ander sijde her nae getzeichen steyt."<sup>26</sup> ("Many Jews reside in Jerusalem, among them some learned men well versed in Christian

25. *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff...* herausgegeben von Dr. E. von Groote (Cöln, 1860). From the extensive literature on him, see especially concerning our topic: Moritz Steinschneider, *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, IX, (1869), 58; Franz Babinger, *Die hebräischen Sprachproben bei Ritter Arnold v. Harff*, *MGWJ*, 64 (1920), 71-75; Joseph Klausner, *Hebrew Speech in Palestine in the fifteenth Century*, *ספר השנה של ארץ ישראל*, I, (1923), 114-117; J. Braslawski, *Zion*, II (1936), 67-69.

26. *Die Pilgerfahrt* etc., 187.

lore, natives of Lombardy, and two Christian monks who three years ago deserted the Christian religion and joined the Jewish sect, with whom I had many talks and experiences, which would take me too long to write about now. I also found three German Jews in Jerusalem as well as (liter. and like them also) in all the Muslim and Turkish cities, with whom I chiefly kept company and conversed at length. I learned to write their alphabet, and I have also acquired a few words of their daily language which I am copying here on the following page").

This fragmentary information tends to verify the facts about the presence of Ashkenazim in Palestine and their residence in Jerusalem, and testifies to the beginnings of an emigration to the Holy Land which was to be fully realized only in later centuries. Soon, however, this picture was to undergo complete change as a result of the tragic upheaval which befell the then largest Jewish community in the world — that of the Sephardim in Spain.



## CHAPTER II

## THE SEPHARDIM APPEAR ON THE SCENE

From the accumulated hatred for the Jews in Spain which had been fostered by the Catholic Church and intensified by the greed of the Crown for the Jews' wealth, the catastrophe which changed the face of the Jewish world erupted. On the second day of August, 1492 (which was to be a decisive year in the history also because Columbus set out on his voyage to America) the expulsion of the Jews from Spain was carried out — a triumph of the triumvirate, Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic monarchs, and Thomas Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of the Church. We read in the Jewish chronicler:

"All the hosts of the Lord, the exiles of Jerusalem in Spain, left this accursed country in the fifth month of the year 5252, which is the year 1492, and were scattered to the four corners of the earth. From Carthage there went forth, on the 16th day of Ab, sixteen large ships laden with human cattle, and this took place in all the other provinces. The Jews went whither the winds carried them, to Africa, to Asia, to Greece and to Turkey, in which countries they live to this day." <sup>27</sup>

Turkey, the empire which, looming on the horizon, was soon to benefit from the skills of these Jewish exiles, and Palestine, which it conquered in 1516, was to become a center of Sephardic settlement. Becoming a majority among the Jews in Palestine they soon dominated the community, and for over two hundred and fifty years, until the middle

27. Joseph Ha-Cohen, עמק הבכא (The Vale of Tears), M. Letteris edition, (Krakau, 1895), 100 (English translation quoted from *An Anthology of Mediaeval Hebrew Literature*, edited by Abraham E. Millgram, Philadelphia, 1935, 357-58).

of the nineteenth century, they maintained an ascendancy over the Ashkenazim and the Arabic-speaking Jewish groups in Palestine. The country, taken by the Sultan Selim I from the Mamelukes, and held even more strongly by his successor Sulaimān the Magnificent, was now part of an empire bent on expanding its commerce and its political power. Opportunities were opened to the newcomers' enterprise, and conditions were favorable for the prosperous development of Jewish communities in the Ottoman territories. To Palestine from Turkey came the influx of Jewish emigrants and the means to maintain them.

Many of the exiled Jews from Spain, among them many Marranos, came to settle in Jerusalem. They enlarged the existing community. Not unexpectedly we read in a letter from an anonymous Jewish traveller of the year 1495, three years after the Spanish expulsion, that "When I came here, I was unable to find living quarters, for many are the new arrivals in the town and the country is full of people, and I meanwhile rented a room for one month until I find a resting-place" in the town which, he says, numbered "about two hundred [Jewish] families".<sup>28</sup>

It was Safed, however, the city in the hills of Galilee, which became the principal center of the new Sephardic settlement, a position which it retained from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup> The preference given to Safed may be accounted for mainly on economic grounds: it was situated not far from Sidon, then the most important harbor in Palestine, through which the trade passed for all the country; it was a station on the way to Damascus; and it maintained commercial ties with the Jewish merchants of that important center of commerce in the Near East.<sup>30</sup> A

28. Ein anonymen Reisebrief vom Jahre 1495, *JGJ*, III (1863), 281.

29. For cultural aspects of that period, see S. Schechter, Safed in the Sixteenth Century, in *Studies in Judaism*, second series (Philadelphia, 1908), 202ff.; Aryeh Leyb Frumkin, חולדות חכמי ירושלים, I (Jerusalem, 1929), passim. The economic conditions are described, sometimes in an exaggerated manner, by Jacob Cnaani, The Economic Life of Safed and its Environs in the Sixteenth and the first half of the Seventeenth Centuries (Hebrew), *Zion*, VI (1934), 172-217.

30. It is therefore absurd to write that "the main cause of all was certainly that in the proximity of Safed — in Miron — is buried, in

further reason for Safed to be favored is to be seen in the unfavorable conditions then prevailing in Jerusalem, where, again, an administrative factor of economic nature, the imposition of heavy taxes on new arrivals, made residence a great hardship. The Jewish "elders" in Jerusalem, as attested by R. Obadiah da Bertinoro and described above, were relentless in carrying out their duties, while in Safed, as a newly established community, nothing was done to impede the establishment of the newcomers.

The city of Safed and its Jewish community at that time is described by the anonymous traveller mentioned above as follows: "Safeta is situated on a mountain slope and it is a large city, its houses are small and highly unattractive. When it rains it is impossible to walk the streets because of the mud, and being situated on a slope the walking on its market places and streets is difficult even in the summer time, for one has to go up and down. The country, however, is good and healthy, and the water is excellent... The holy community numbers about three hundred families, and the majority of the Jews are engaged in stores of spices, cheese, oil, various vegetables and fruits. And from what I have heard, one makes in these stores 25 ducati from which five people have their living because food there is cheap."<sup>31</sup>

The commercial ties of Safed with Damascus are described in the itinerary of R. Moshe Bassola of Ancona, in the year 1522, where we read: "Safed is in Upper Galilee... on the slope are the houses of the Jews numbering more than three hundred families... The city is full of everything in abundance... and if not for the large quantities of oil and grain which are exported from there to Damascus and to other places, it

accordance with the tradition, R. Šimeon b. Yohai, the head of the Kabbalists, who were among the first to fulfill the dictum of settling in Palestine at all times." (Cnaani, *op. cit.*, 179)

On the other hand one is not to overlook the attachment of the Kabbalists to Safed, the topographic scenery of which is fitted for solitude, and the intense mystical beliefs among the exiles from Spain. For a vigorous treatment of the problem, see Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, (Jerusalem, 1941), *passim*.

31. JGJJ, III, 277. — For the size of the Jewish community in subsequent years, see Cnaani, 177-78. Exception should be made to the number of "fourteen thousand", quoted there from an account of the year 1562, which is a gross exaggeration.

[the city of Safed] would not be worth anything. There are many varieties of fine fruits and some which are not found there are imported from Damascus. The city is full of merchandise and stores of woolen clothing, small ware and spices, and many Jewish stores deal in these three [articles]. They bring the small ware and the spices from Damascus for sale in the city... The city is generally bent on trade more than Italy, for the Arabs much prefer to buy from Jews than from others." ובכלל הארץ היא מרקאדנטיסק"ה יותר הרבה מאיטליא"ה כי (הישמעאלים יקנו יותר ברצון מן היהודים מלקנות מאחרים)<sup>32</sup>

In addition Jews in Safed carried on the manufacture and trade of weaving wool and clothing on a grand scale, developed by the skillful craftsmen and merchants among the exiles from Spain.<sup>33</sup>

The dominating Sephardic community existed together with two other communities, the Moriscos (or מסתערבים, as they are known in contemporary sources), Arabic-speaking Jews whose residence in Palestine was said to have continued uninterrupted since ancient times, and the Moghrebi (Moroccan) Jews (מערבים). Each community was centered round its synagogue, and R. Moshe Bassola informs us that "Safed has three synagogues, one of Sephardim; and one of Moriscos; and one of Moghrebi called the synagogue of Elijah, of blessed memory, for it is ancient and they have a tradition that Elijah used to pray in it."<sup>34</sup>

Our information about the Morisco and Moghrebi communities in Safed in the sixteenth century is gathered from, among others, a rare book, תקון יששכר, published in Constantinople, 1564. The author, Issachar b. Mordecai b. Susan, himself a Moghrebi,<sup>35</sup> arrived in Safed in 1552 and was especially interested in the various customs of the different communities.

32. *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*... of the year 5282 = 1542 [1522!] A.C.E.,... published from an original manuscript by Isaac Ben-Zvi — מסעות ארץ ישראל לרבי משה באסולה (Jerusalem, 1939), 43-44.

33. For details, chiefly on the basis of data in Rabbinical literature, see Chanaani, *op. cit.*, 195-201. It was part of the clothing industry in Turkey, developed by the exiles from Spain as amply illustrated by Salomon A. Rosanes, *A History of the Jews in Turkey and the Near East*, III — קורות היהודים בחורקיה וארצות הקדם (Sofia, 1938), 384 ff.

34. *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, 43.

35. Some data on him in תולדות חכמי ירושלים, I, 77-78.

It is he who noted that the Sephardim were the newcomers while the Moriscos and the Moghrebis were old-established: "And the Sephardic communities — may the Redeemer safeguard them — which were added from abroad to the inhabitants of old in Safed, Upper Galilee — may it be speedily re-established in our own days, etc."<sup>36</sup> (וקהלות הספרדים יצו' שנתוספו) (מחוצה לארץ בצפת שבגליל העליון חובב על התושבים יצו' הקדמונים).

About the Moriscos, we are informed that they resided in Safed and the adjacent villages Biriya and 'Eyn al-zētun<sup>37</sup> (המוסתערבים יצו' תושבי הארץ צפת שבגליל העליון חובב וכפריה ביריה ועין (אליותן). Their religious leader was R. Yeshu'a, the judge (החכם השלם מהר ישועה יצו' דיין המוסתערבים).<sup>38</sup> To his own community, that of the Moghrebis, he refers on several occasions as "we, the community of Moghrebis, — may the Redeemer safeguard them — in Safed — may it be re-established etc. — follow the custom of the residents of old"<sup>39</sup> (ואנו קהל המערביים (בקהליו המערביים) "in our congregation of Moghrebis"<sup>40</sup> (בקהליו המערביים).

The author also informs us of the existence of a *community of Ashkenazim* in Safed. The references to this, however, in connection with the customs there, are rather meager. He once also mentions a certain R. Saul, apparently the religious leader of the community, whom I am unable to identify, together with "other enlightened men": "And I have likewise seen here in Safed — may it be rebuilt, etc. — that the custom of the Ashkenazic community — may the Redeemer safeguard them — is to recite the Haftarah [the portion from the Prophets read in the synagogue after the portion from the Pentateuch] at the afternoon prayer on these fast-days and their custom was pleasing to me. And the learned man R. Saul, as

36. תקון יששכר, 66a (according to the pagination in the copy of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, as the pages of the Constantinople edition are not numbered.)

37. *Ibid.* Their main occupation in these villages was agriculture, wide-spread among Jews in Upper Galilee at that period (Cf. J. Braszlawski, The Jewish Agricultural Population of Palestine in the 16th Cent. [Hebrew] *Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, Dedicated to the Memory of Dr. A. Mazie, Jerusalem, 1934, 281ff.)

38. תקון יששכר, 76a.

39. *Ibid.*, 67b.

40. *Ibid.*, 76b.

well as some enlightened men among them, told me that this is the custom in their countries (of origin)."<sup>41</sup> וכן ראיתי פה צפת) "חובב קהל האשכנזים יצו' שנוהגין להפטיר במנחת אלה הצומות דרשו וישר בעיני מנהגם. ואמר לי החכם כהר שאול יצו' ואחרים מהם משכילים שכך נוהגין (בארצותיהם). In connection with another custom, that of calling up the bridegroom to the reading of the Torah in the synagogue, he again mentions "the community of Ashkenazim — may the Redeemer, etc. — here in Safed — may it be rebuilt, etc."<sup>42</sup>

Even in the observing of customs, those of the Sephardim predominated in Safed, as attested by Issachar b. Mordecai: "And the Moriscos, the residents of the country [of old], as well as the majority of the other communities there — may the Redeemer safeguard them — follow the customs of the Sephardim."<sup>43</sup> והמוסתערבי' תושבי הארץ וכן רוב שאר הקהלות יצו' אשר שם נוהגין) (כבספרד).

The time of these remarks was the sixteenth century, during the last quarter of which the Ottoman rule over Syria and Palestine began to lose its hold. The centralized structure of the Turkish state weakened, with the result that the Pashas of the more distant imperial territories made themselves more or less independant of the government in Constantinople — a situation common enough in the Near East ever since the Tell el Amarna period.<sup>44</sup> These local chieftains were still, however, duty-bound to deliver large revenues to the Sultan's treasury and these were forcibly collected from the populace — a system practiced widely throughout the seventeenth century.

The Jewish community in Safed had also to provide its share in the taxes, which were so heavy that often they could not be met, as may be seen from a letter of the year 1604: "The government imposed upon the city [the Jewish community of Safed] three thousand and five hundred ducati

41. *Ibid.*, 71a.

42. *Ibid.*, 88b.

43. *Ibid.*, 85b.

44. Cf. Joseph V. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, (Pesth, 1836); Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-din der Druzenfürst und seine Zeitgenossen*, (Göttingen, 1886), 96.

[והובים] annually while the whole property of [the Jewish community in] the town, including that of children and adults, amounts, under oath, to four thousand ducati.”<sup>45</sup> In their distress the leaders of the community appealed for outside help, as the writer informs us in his letter to R. Ḥayyim Cansino, of a wealthy Sephardic family in Oran, on whom it is impressed in another of these letters that “if he disregards the plea, there will be no more [Jewish communities in] Galilee, Jerusalem, Hebron or Tiberias, for in comparison with Galilee [Safed] all of them are considered as mere villages.”<sup>46</sup>

Of the existence of a small *Ashkenazic* community in Safed in the seventeenth century we learn from a manuscript (Ms. Jerusalem, 1541, No. 74) in the Elkan Nathan Adler collection in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. The entries concerning the writer and the community, dated 1612, are entitled “The Pinkas of the holy city of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days” (פנקס של ירושלים ע”ה חוב”ב), and written in a clear Ashkenazic handwriting (a reduced facsimile of which is here reproduced).<sup>47</sup>

פנקס של ירושלים ע”ה חוב”ב

1 היום יום ג' י"א לחדש חשון השע"ב ליצירה נמסרו בידי כל הפקדונות השייכי'  
לק"ק ירושלים הן לרבי /הן ליחידי/  
קבלתי שק אחד כתוב עליו לר' אליה הכהן ולר' שלימל י"א הדרים בירושלים  
ובו תשעים ואחד גרוש וחצי גרוש  
וזה הסך הוא לחלק. לקחתי ממנו עשרה גרוש בהלואה ונתתי עלי כתיבת ידי  
כאשר צוה לי הגבאי הר"ר  
בנימין ב"ר יקותיאל ז"לה"ה. עו' ה' גרוש לגבינה שקנתי להר"ר בנימין  
הנ"ל. עו' חצי גרוש שנשארתי חייב

45. Epistles from Safed (Hebrew), published by S. Assaf, על יד, III (1940), 136.

46. *Ibid.*, 139.

47. I am grateful to Mr. Morris Lutzki, Research Assistant in the Manuscript Division of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, for calling my attention to the manuscript and for his help in clarifying several entries in it.

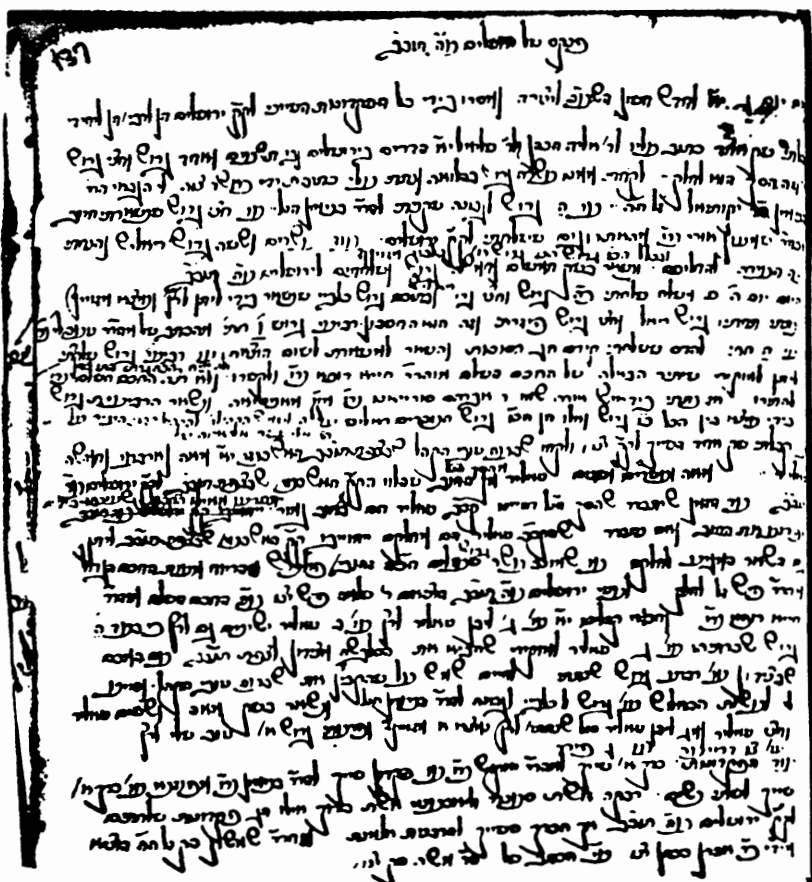
Further details concerning the history of the Jews in Safed and Jerusalem contained in the manuscript will be published elsewhere by the present author.

5 לכה"ר שמעון אורי נר"י והאתרוגים ששלחתי לק"ק ירושלים. עוד עשרים וששה גרוש ריאליש והנחת / ובכלל הט' גרוש נו' גרוש א' כלבי מזויף פה העירה להחליפם. ונשאר בשק חמשים וחמשה גרוש ושלחתים לירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב

היום יום ה' פ' וישלח שלחתי כ"ה גרוש וחצי גרו' ריאליש בתוכם גרוש כלבי שנשאר בידי ליתן לרץ ונמצא מזויף

ונתתי תחתיו גרוש ריאלי וחצי גרוש פיורתי וזה הוא החשבון. רביעי' גרוש ו' חתי מהכתב של מהר"ר טעבלי נ"ר

עו' ה' חתי. להדס ששלחתי קודם חג הסוכות. והשאר למשמרת לשום הוצאה. עו' רביעי' גרוש שלחתי



A page from the "Pinkas of Jerusalem", a manuscript dated 1612, containing data on the Jewish Ashkenazic community in Safed, Palestine.

(from the Elkan Nathan Adler collection in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary)



- 10 ליתן למוקירי שיתיר הבאלה של החכם השלם מוהר"ר חייא רופא ולהניח הכ"ה גרוש בתוכם  
 גר"י ולקשרו. ולא רצה החכם השלם גר"י  
 להתירו. אז נתתי ביד איש אורח שמו ר' אברהם טוריאנו גר"י מק"ק מאניסיאה, ונשאר הרביעית גרוש  
 בידי נמצא בין הכל כ"ו גרוש ואלו הן הט' גרוש הנזכרים ראליש  
 עו' ה' לשמש הקהיל' להקהיל רבני העיר על עניין הר' אליעזר אראחה גר"י  
 עו' קבלתי שק אחד השייך לק"ק יצו. ולקחו שבעה טובי הקהל  
 שבצפת תוב"ב האשכנזי י"א מאה וארבעי וחמשה  
 טאליר.. מאה ועשרים ושנים טאליר מהסך הנ"ל מן החוב שהלוי הק"ק האשכנזי  
 שבצפת תוב"ב לק"ק ירושלים ע"ה
- 15 תוב"ב.. עד הזמן שיתברר שהסך הנ"ל דהיינו קכ"ב טאליר הם בחוב גמור. יתפרעו מאתו הקכב שערכו בידם  
 [ייחויבו ק"ק ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב לפרוע את החוב. — מלים אלו בכתב-היד מחוקות בהעברת קולמוס עליהן. — מ.ק.]  
 ואם יתברר שהקכ"ב טאליר הם מחלקם ייחויבו ק"ק האשכנזי שבצפת תוב"ב ליתן  
 גם השאר המגיע לחלקם. עו' שמונה עשר גרוש שעולים הכ"ה והובי פולניש מהריוח מצות החכם הגדול  
 מהר"ר פיש ז"ל לחלק לעניי ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב. הוציאם ר' שלמה פיש יצו' ע"פ החכם השלם ומהר"ר  
 חייא רופא גר"י וחכמי קהילתו י"א עו' ג' ליבן טאליר לרץ עו' ב' טאליר ישינים גם לרץ כי בעד ה'
- 20 גרוש שכרתיהו עו' ג' טאליר למוקירי שהביא את ההלבשה מצידון לצפת תוב"ב עם המכס  
 שבצידון עו' רביע גרוש שנתתי לחיים שמש על שהקביץ את שבעה טובי הקהל. וסייע  
 לי לעשות הבאליש עו' גרוש כלביי לגבינה להר"ר בנימין הנ"ל ונשאר בשק מאה וששים טאליר  
 וחצי טאליר ומג' ליבן טאליר הנ"ל שנתתי לרץ נמצא א' מזוייף ופרעתי גרוש א' טוב שלי לרץ  
 עו' צ"ז דרייאר עו' ג' פירר
- 25 עוד הפקדונות.. כרך א' שייך למהר"ר יאקוש גר"י עו' פקדון שייך להר"ר בנימין גר"י מפוזנא עו' כרך א'

שייך לשתי נשים. רבקה אשת סענדר וליאכענט אשת ברוך אילו הג' פקדונות  
שלחתים  
לק"ק ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב אך הכרך ששייך להרבנית אלמנת מהר"ר שמשון  
בק זלה"ה הוציא  
מידי כ"ר אהרון הכהן יצו' ע"י הכתב של הר' משה בק יצו'

From the manuscript it appears that the writer had some official standing in the community, for he was entrusted with distribution of the charity monies collected abroad. His identity otherwise is unknown. Mention is made of, among others, "the seven honorable representatives of the Ashkenazic community in Safed, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days" (שבעה טובי הקהל שבצפת תוב"ב האשכנזי); of "the learned men of our community" (וחכמי קהלינו); of "the loan of the holy Ashkenazic community in Safed to the holy [Ashkenazic] community in the holy city of Jerusalem, may it be, etc." (החוב שהלוי הק"ק שבצפת לק"ק ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב); and of the amount of ninety piastres received by the writer in 1613 "from the Rabbis of the city for account of the holy Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem" (העיר לחשבון ק"ק אשכנזי שבירושלי ע"ה תוב"ב).

From the foregoing it may be inferred that the Ashkenazic community in Safad was larger than that in Jerusalem, although even then the former was rather small.

The charity money collected abroad was received for distribution to the needy of both communities, while advance loans were sometimes extended to the latter. We read of funds received from Poznan, Poland, and from Prague assigned to Ashkenazim in Safed and Jerusalem, while the variegated names of the currency (gruś, riales, Taler, Löwen-Taler, Polish Zloty, gold florins, "drayer", "firer") testify to a financial state far from being stabilized.

In connection with data relating to the Ashkenazic community in *Jerusalem* for the same period (the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), we shall again deal with some aspects of the life of this rather small community as reflected in itineraries, private letters and other accounts.

In 1542 R. Moshe Bassola of Ancona informs us, among other events, about his visit to Jerusalem: "The community is

composed of various elements: there are *fifteen Ashkenazic families* (יש ט"ו בעלי בתים אשכנזים), and Sephardim who are the majority, and Moriscos, the residents in the country of old, as well as Moghrebis, arrived from Berberia — in all about three hundred [we have to accept the second figure mentioned by him: "over five hundred"] families... Over two hundred persons are among those receiving charity, and much of it arrives from Egypt, Turkey and other localities. The poor people among the Ashkenazim are not included in this figure, for their maintenance comes from Venice... The distinguished R. Israel is the head of the Talmudical academy of the Ashkenazim (כמה"ר ישראל ראש ישיבה לאשכנזים) and he is assisted by the distinguished R. Perec who recently arrived from Germany, and they study the tractate Baba M'ci'a." <sup>48</sup>

But for a vivid picture of the daily life of these few Ashkenazim in Jerusalem, for their worries and the mood besetting them, we have to turn to the glimpses afforded in private letters, written in Yiddish, by a certain Rachel, the daughter of R. Abraham of Prague (אברהם מפראג) (רחל בת ר' אברהם מפראג) to her son Moses the scribe, in Cairo, in the year 1567. <sup>49</sup>

Life in Jerusalem, as depicted in these letters, was one of misery and extreme poverty even though living was cheap. Thus we read how Rachel is struggling to eke out her meager existence with loans from friends: "I spent over a gulden this month and I was left with no more than half a gulden to spend. R. David, may his Redeemer safeguard him, extended me a loan of one gulden on a pledge of your two Talmud books, and Ruvlin [diminutive of Reuben] loaned me half a gulden. I borrowed it from him unwillingly, but I had to do it." <sup>50</sup> Reiterating that "I do not know where I shall borrow

48. *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, 61-62. Disappointment over an Ashkenazi arriving via Venice and not bringing money for maintenance is expressed in a private letter in Yiddish from Jerusalem, 1567: "This Gotschalk arrived from Venice and, because of our many sins, he has not brought me anything equal even to the value of a small coin." (דער גוצשלק איז קומן פון וועניצא ער האט מיר נישט גיבראכט איין שוה פרוטאן בעי'ה) [= בענוותיגו הרבים] (See following note, 71.)

49. The letters were found in the Geniza in Cairo, whence they were removed to the Cambridge University library, and published by S. Assaf in *Zion*, VII (1942), 65-72.

50. *Ibid.*, 66.

money, for the poor do not have money", she appeals to her son to bring along linen because "I do not have even a sheet over my bed and a cover for my feather-bed."<sup>51</sup>

In a second letter to her son, Rachel informs him that his son-in-law is involved in debts to the Arabs — a familiar feature in the life of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem for years thereafter: "Your son-in-law is so much indebted to the Gentiles [Arabs] that his house is [mortgaged] because of it, and Beile [his wife, Rachel's grand-daughter] sold everything and now he has nothing to wear on him. . . . I am unable to write you at length about the foolishness he has committed. He guaranteed a loan for his brother . . . and for your in-laws, but he was unable to pay, and had therefore to pay compound interest continuously. The largest part of your Beile's linen, as well as all his mother's possessions in the house, have been sold [to meet the debt]."<sup>52</sup>

In addition to all the other troubles an epidemic broke out in Jerusalem, and in her letter Rachel warns her son in Cairo not to come to Jerusalem, but to proceed instead to Safed: "My beloved son, do not worry, and keep your health for the sake of the Lord blessed be He, and do not come here now, for at present it is not all well here among Jews and the Moors [Arabs]. In Safed, people say, it [the epidemic] has already stopped. Stay over the Holy Days [in Cairo], and if it has not stopped here by then, it would be better to proceed to Safed. May the Holy One blessed be He show you the right path."<sup>53</sup>

51. *Ibid.*, 67.

52. *Ibid.*, 68.

53. *Ibid.*, 66-67. The Yiddish phrase *ווא ציך אויף שפּט צו* is left without explanation in the text published by S. Asaf. This is due to the following *שפּט* = Safed, Heb. *צפת* was pronounced *safet* among Ashkenazim; *צו* is a misspelling for *צו* = to; *ווא ציך אויף שפּט צו* = proceed then to Safed. The pronunciation Safet for *צפת* is encountered in the third letter of R. Obadiah da Bertinoro, of the year 1490: *אין אומרים שגבולי הארץ קרוב לה מאד טפס* (published by Alexander Marx, *Annual of Palestine* (Hebrew), II-III, 99).

Max Weinreich, in his *Studies in the History of Yiddish Literature* (Yiddish) (Vilno, 1928), quotes the use of *safet* in Old-Yiddish books of 1649 and 1691 (*Ibid.*, 244, n. 1). But his remark that it was due to "the tendency of Yiddish-speaking Jews to coin geographic designations

The only bright spots in this gloomy picture of the life of the small Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem are the details concerning Rachel's grand-daughter Beile, in the letters to her son in Cairo, and the news of a marriage and the dowry involved in it: "Your Beila, may she live, is very handy and skillful at work with silver and gold. When your wife has much work to be done, she is taken in to help. She may be trusted, thank God, and does her work willingly, but she has no heart for studies."<sup>54</sup>

It may be seen in the letter that "intermarriage" with other Jewish groups was not desirable to the Ashkenazim of Jerusalem — an attitude still in force today in the old Yishuv, whose members cling to their own community:<sup>55</sup> "If Zvilen [diminutive of צבי] would be here, R. David would give him his daughter [in marriage]. She is a fine girl. . . . He would give him a house, and all his books as well as his household utensils and fine clothes. He desires an Ashkenazi only (ער וויל יא איין טייטשן) Gotschalk wants much money [as dowry], but R. David refuses to give cash."<sup>56</sup> Of another Ashkenazi, R. Benjamin from Hungary, the richest man in the community, we are told that he gave his daughter in marriage to a young countryman of his: "R. Benjamin, may his Redeemer safeguard him, gave his daughter in marriage to a young lad, an orphan, the grandson of Isaac Cohen, a Hungarian, fifteen years old, and he will study with him. He keeps the young man with him, and he possesses over four thousand [gulden] of his own."<sup>57</sup>

The following are details about the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem, which began to expand at the beginning of the

of their own", is to be elucidated by the possibility that Ashkenazic Jews simply took over this pronunciation from Italian Jews.

54. *Ibid.*, 69.

55. For this approach cf. also Vocabulary, Nos. 79, 236 where a negative attitude is expressed over marriage with members of groups other than the Ashkenazim of the Old Community.

56. *Zion*, VII (1942), 69. Of R. David, mentioned here, we are told in the same letter (*Ibid.*, 70) that "he is an old man of eighty years". Gotschalk is the Ashkenazi who arrived at Jerusalem from Venice (see n. 48 above.).

57. *Ibid.*

seventeenth century, as seen by one of its distinguished spiritual leaders, R. Isaiah Horovitz, the author of the mystical *שני לוחות הברית* and known from the initials of the book's title as the Sheloh (של"ה). He was born 1570 in Prague, received his Talmudical education in the famous Yeshiboth in the Polish city of Cracow, and officiated as Rabbi in the Jewish communities of Frankfurt a.M., Poznań (Posen), Cracow and Prague, whence he left for Palestine, arriving in 1622 in Jerusalem after first visiting Safed. From there he wrote to his family abroad, giving his impressions of the journey, together with information about Jerusalem:

"The community of Ashkenazim in Jerusalem is double that of the Ashkenazic community in Safed, may it be rebuilt, etc., and it is being increased every day, counting among them a number of distinguished people, highly learned.... There arrived recently a pious, rich man from Constantinople and he joined the community of Ashkenazim, for Jerusalem, even though ruined, is nowadays the joy of the whole country. It is peaceful, good food is available, as well as the choicest wine, and it is cheaper in Jerusalem than in Safed. The Ashkenazim here live in an enclosed section, which is not the case in Safed where they live on a field open on all sides. And the Sephardim in Jerusalem increase [their number] very much from day to day, and are busy constructing large buildings. All this is considered as a sign of a speedy redemption in our own days, and very shortly you will hear, God willing, that the community of Ashkenazim will be increased very much, for I am, thank God, aware that many, desiring to join me, will arrive there."<sup>58</sup>

This desire was largely furthered by the financial assistance extended to the Ashkenazim in Palestine by their brethren abroad, especially in Poland and Lithuania, through the offices of their autonomous administrative bodies, the "Council of the Four Lands" (ועד ארבע ארצות) and the "Council of the Province of Lithuania" (ועד מדינת ליטא).<sup>59</sup> Thus, in the

58. Quoted from the text of the letter published in *תולדות חכמי ירושלים* I, 151-152.

59. For a general treatment of the problem, see I. Halperin, *The Relation of the Jewish Councils and Communities in Poland to Palestine* (Hebrew), *Zion*, I (1935), 82-88.

year 1626 the former sent to Palestine the amount of 12,000 gulden, and in the enactments passed the following year an appeal was headed "to all our brethren of the house of Israel to hasten their deeds and bring along to the next Yaroslav fair all the donations for the poor of Palestine."<sup>60</sup>

More details of this financial help are to be found in the records of the Lithuanian Council, which have been preserved in full. Thus the session of the year 1623 passed a resolution "to stand in times of distress by our brethren scattered in the Holy Land" to collect donations "and send them always to the Gromnic fair in Lublin whence they will be despatched to their destination."<sup>61</sup> Supervisors (ממונים) and deputies (גבאים) were assigned the task of collecting the donations, which were then sent to Lublin and via Constantinople to the Ashkenazic communities in Palestine. In the year 1634 the Council heard an appeal of the "poor of Hebron" (עניי חברון) and it was resolved to follow the example of the "leaders of Poland" in distributing the funds among the needy Ashkenazim in other communities in Palestine and that of Hebron.<sup>62</sup> An appeal to despatch the donations "without delay before the fair of Gromnic" and to collect from everyone a shilling weekly was reiterated at the session of 1652 after it had received appeals for help from the "poor of Palestine".<sup>63</sup> Three years later, in 1655, the Council decided to advance an amount "to be sent to the holy community of Lublin for despatch to Palestine"<sup>64</sup> and it passed a resolution calling on each community to assign "special supervisors" and forbidding the use of the collected funds for other purposes; and they were not to be lent out unless covered by pledges of silverware valued at least one and a half times the amount of the loan.<sup>65</sup> The officials of the Council likewise kept surveillance over those "who come and go from

60. Louis Lewin, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Vierländersynode*, II (Frankfurt a.M., 1906), 14; see also *ibid.*, 19 (No. XXVII), 21 (No. XXXIII).

61. מוקס המדינה (The Minutes of the Lithuanian Council of Provinces), edited, with introduction and notes, by Simon Dubnow (Berlin, 1925), 11 (No. 53).

62. *Ibid.*, 72 (No. 348).

63. *Ibid.*, 113 (No. 492).

64. *Ibid.*, 120 (No. 506).

65. מוקס המדינה, 122 (No. 523).

town to town with written documents to assist them in their travel to Palestine and whose real intention is no more than to collect money and stay abroad." It was therefore decided at the session of 1664 that no such written documents should be issued and if found should be confiscated, while from the "messengers from Palestine" collecting funds over a period of more than two years their letters of recommendation should be confiscated along with the money.<sup>66</sup>

These funds, so diligently collected among the Jewish communities abroad for "the poor of Palestine", provided not only their bare existence, but were also intended for the prime need of meeting the payments of various taxes with which they were heavily burdened. In considering the story of the Jewish community in Palestine under Ottoman rule, it should never escape attention that its development was constantly hindered by the oppression and lawlessness of local chieftains not always responsible even to the Sultan in Constantinople. The hardest lot was that of the Ashkenazim, a minority within a minority, isolated from its environment by ignorance of the country's language and customs (see especially part two of this study, p. 100 ff.).

One of these chieftains, who in 1625 caused the destruction of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem, was Muḥammad ibn Farrūḥ, Emir of Nablus, who knew how to exploit the confused political situation resulting from the sanguinary revolt against the Sultan Murād ibn Aḥmed by Fahr ed-dīn, ruler of Syria and Palestine, to make himself governor of the city of Jerusalem.<sup>67</sup> The Jewish community in Jerusalem at

66. *Ibid.*, 133 (Nos. 558, 559). The Council likewise assigned individual grants to emigres to Palestine. Thus in the year 1634 the amount of eighty Lowen-Taler was given as travelling expenses to the "learned and distinguished R. Joseph b. R. Eliezer Segal of the holy community of Brisk" for services rendered to the community, and forty Lowen-Taler annually for the rest of his life in Palestine (*ibid.*, 59, No. 286). An annual amount of 150 Gulden the "leaders of the provinces of Lithuania" obligated themselves to send to "Mrs. Freidl, the widow of the distinguished R. Kopil of Lutsk" in return for her loan of 940 Gulden to the community (*ibid.*, 99, No. 456). A similar transaction is recorded for a certain R. Yohanan b. R. Moses Weil of Prague and his wife in Palestine, who received 207 Polish Gulden annually for a loan of 1,200 Gulden to the Council (*ibid.*, No. 457).

67. Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Fachr ed-dīn*, 158ff. For the sources on his despotic rule over Jerusalem see the following note.



that time was indebted to the Arabs to the amount of 50,000 piastres for which they paid interest of twenty per cent annually — a large amount which could not be met out of the funds arriving from abroad. This unbearable situation became still worse when ibn-Farrūḥ's deputy arrived in Jerusalem to collect augmented taxes from all its inhabitants — Muslims, Christians and Jews alike. These troubles of the Jewish community were only the beginning of the disaster to come.<sup>68</sup> Their monthly personal tax, the *mušāhara* (مشاهرة), was increased from thirty to eighty piastres and in addition Jews were subjected to forced labor for thirty days in fortifying the city walls, "and every day he demanded expensive woolen and silken clothes, sugar, wax, and chickens, and eggs, as well as wood-boards, so that from the day of his arrival through the whole month of Shebat [of the year] [5]385 [=1625], 35 days in all, he extracted from the leaders of the community, may the Redeemer safeguard them, over three thousand piastres in addition to three hundred piastres of which he robbed a group of Italian Jews who arrived just then to settle in Jerusalem, besides one thousand six hundred piastres taken from the distinguished R. Emanuel elbahri after the latter was flogged for nothing."<sup>69</sup>

The terror increased in intensity, and soon fifteen leaders of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities, among them R. Isaiah Horovitz, were arrested and freed only after paying a ransom of eleven thousand piastres.<sup>70</sup> Unable to endure the oppression any longer, the Ashkenazim fled to Tiberias where an Ashkenazic community existed. The anonymous writer says: "And in those days the distinguished Rabbi R. Isaiah Halevi [Horovitz] together with the leaders of the holy com-

68. These matters are related by an anonymous contemporary writer in his appropriately entitled *חרבות ירושלים* (The Ruins of Jerusalem), first published in Venice, 1627. A second edition, with notes and additions, was published by Eliezer Rivlin, Jerusalem, 1928, 60 pp. A general account of ibn Farrūḥ is given by Samuel Krauss, *Vier Jahrtausende jüdischen Palästinas* (Frankfurt a.M., 1922), 129-131. Excerpts are also quoted by Michael Assaf, *History of the Arabs in Palestine* (Hebrew), II (Tel Aviv, 1941), 98-102. Cf. also Samuel Klein, *חלונות בארץ ישראל* (Tel Aviv, 1935), 206-7.

69. *חרבות ירושלים*, (Rivlin edition), 15.

70. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

munity of the Ashkenazim, may the Lord safeguard them, risked their lives and escaped to Safed [Tiberias], may it be rebuilt and reestablished speedily in our own days, for their strength failed and they feared very much for their lives."<sup>71</sup> Thus, with the exile of the leaders headed by R. Isaiah Horovitz (who died in Tiberias, 1629) the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem ceased to exist.

An account of the remnants of Ashkenazim struggling along in Jerusalem we find years later, in 1650, in a Yiddish itinerary *דרכי ציון* (The Ways of Zion)<sup>72</sup> written by R. Moshe Porges (or Preger), a relative of R. Isaiah Horovitz. On his way from Prague to Jerusalem he went through many experiences. With a sense for practical matters, he gives an exact and thorough description of how one should act on his journey to Palestine, and he warns against hasty departure. He saw what happened to some of these incautious people, he tells the reader in the preface to the itinerary: they left for Palestine without giving thought as to how they were to secure their livelihood in Jerusalem, only to regret it later: "Why did we undertake such a journey? We would rather return to our homeland." He emphasizes the difficulties facing the Ashkenazim who hope to carry on trade in Jerusalem but are hampered by lack of the knowledge of the various languages of the country, Spanyolish [Ladino], Arabic and Turkish. They would not be able to compete with the Sephardim, "although an Ashkenazi with a skill is free to carry on his work or his trade."<sup>73</sup>

From the account of R. Moshe Preger we learn that the small Ashkenazic group in Jerusalem consisted mostly of old people. There was no place for young men, who were excluded

71. *Ibid.*, 27. According to the same account, the Ashkenazim in Safed had to pay a tax only one-fifth of that levied by ibn-Farrūh on the Jewish community in Jerusalem (*Ibid.*, 38).

72. Published (in Prague?), 1650. The only copy traceable is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In the following I quote from the photostat copy in the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem. It is described by M. Steinschneider in *ZDPV* III (1880), 221-226. The most important excerpts were translated by Kurt Wilhelm, *Ein Alijah-Merkblatt vom Jahre 1650*, in *Jüdische Rundschau*, No. 66, Berlin, August 16, 1935, and later included in his *Wege nach Zion* (Berlin, 1935), 41-48.

73. *Darkhe Zion*, 9. For similar quotations, see part two, pp. 100-101.

from benefit of the charity funds from abroad. Worst of all, they would not be able to find in Jerusalem any suitable mate. His advice therefore to young people was to stay home rather than undertake the journey to Jerusalem. In a rather humorous tone he writes, in rhyming phrases:

"yungen un bokherim [בחורים] un bsules [בחולות] zolin pšite [פשיטא] nit ken jeruśelaim kumen. den zey tunen der nokh gvis šrayen un brumen. der khosn [חתן] muz di nedunye [נדוניא] geben. vil er anders cu yeruśelaim blaybn, es zay ormer oder raykh. gefint er nit zayn glaykh, es zay ayn am-horec [עם הארץ] oder lerner. iz im eytl distlen un derner. drum zolen yunge layt blaybn in irn lender. un alte layt zolen mit irn gelt kumen zister behender. akh [oykh] tut men kayn yung nokh bokher [בחור] unt bsule [בחולה] haspoke [הספקה] geben. ven er glaykh zelt hundred yor cu yeruśelaim leben... drum iz fil beser dozen zey zikh cum erštn nit tunen bamien. un zey zolen zikh ireh yungeh yor nit ob šnaydn. der mit darfn zey nit car [צער] un šmercn laydn." <sup>74</sup>

("Young men and maidens are certainly not to come to Jerusalem, for they will surely cry and grumble later. The bridegroom is the one who has to pay the dowry if he wishes to stay in Jerusalem. Be he poor or rich, he is unable to find his mate. Be he an ignoramus or a learned man, he will find only thistles and thorns. Therefore let young people stay in their homelands, and better let the old ones bring along their money. Also, no charity is given to a young man or maiden, even if he [they] lives in Jerusalem a hundred years... It would be better therefore for them not to begin to trouble themselves, not to cut off life prematurely and so not to suffer heartache and pain.")

Again he insists that no poor man should expect to share in the charity funds for subsistence, since the community is in debt and moreover the funds no longer arrive: "The community, because of many sins, is much in debt and for that reason the poor are unable to receive much [charity] and especially *because of the great disaster which occurred in the country of Poland*. In consequence there is no charity to be given at all, for, because of our many sins, they are unable to send [their donations] as they used to send them annually to the amount of several thousand [gulden?]. May the Holy One, blessed be He, have mercy on the poor of Jerusalem and the poor of all Israel, Amen." <sup>75</sup>

74. *Darkhe Zion*, 10.

75. *Ibid.*

This description of the condition of the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem is corroborated by a contemporary English account entitled *An information concerning the present state of the Jewish Nation in Europe and Judea etc.*<sup>76</sup> "The date has unfortunately been cut away," Cecil Roth remarks, "but from internal evidence it appears that it should be 1658. There is every reason to believe that the author was Henry Jessey, or Jacey (1601-1663), the correspondent of Menasseh ben Israel, who collected £300 on behalf of the poor Jews of Jerusalem at about this period."<sup>77</sup>

The author writes:

"The state of the Jews at Jerusalem of late was such, that they could not live and subsist there, without some yearly supply and contribution from their Brethren abroad, because the place doth yield them little or no trading, whereby to maintain themselves; but their love to the place doth oblige them to remain there, although with great poverty and want; And their Brethren abroad among the Nations, have been willing to uphold them there at Jerusalem, that the place should not be left destitute of some considerable number of their Nation, to keep as it were possession, or at least a footing in it and to shew their hopes, till a full restitution come; Therefore the Jews of Poland, of Lithuania, of Prussia and Russia, where great multitudes of that Nation were seated, were wont in former time to send to the German Jews, dwelling at Jerusalem, yearly about 30000 imperial dollars; which will amount, if we mistake not, to 6563 pounds sterling, or thereabouts yearly; by which means they subsisted in some tolerable manner, and paid to the grand Signior of their taxes; but since the desolation, brought by war upon Poland, and the other parts, whence that supply was sent unto them, they have been in great extremity of want."<sup>78</sup>

"The great disaster" and "the desolation, brought by war upon Poland" were none other than the bloody pogroms and massacres of Jews in the Ukraine, Volhynia, Podolia, Poland, White Russia and Lithuania, in the years 1648-1649 (known in Jewish history as the גזירת ת"ח ות"ט "gzeirath tah vetat") perpetrated by the Ukrainian Cossacks and peasantry under the leadership of Bogdan Chmielnicky [Khmelnitzky]. As is

76. Published by Cecil Roth, *The Jews of Jerusalem in the Seventeenth Century*, in *Miscellanies* of the Jewish Historical Society of England, II (1935), 99-104.

77. *Ibid.*, 99.

78. *Ibid.*, 100.

always the case in Jewish martyrdom, an accumulation of hatred and an urge for vengeance as between Gentile nations or groups themselves (here of the Ukrainians against the Poles and their officers under King Vladislav IV) are first discharged on the heads of the defenseless Jews, who have to bear the brunt of economic or political upheavals.

In the Chmielnicki massacres scores of Jewish communities were obliterated and Jews perished by the tens of thousands.<sup>79</sup> The economic disruption and the material and spiritual crisis that followed in the wake of the slaughter had their affect among others on the Ashkenazic Yishuv in Palestine. Many communities, previously donors to the "Holy Land", ceased to exist, as we learn from the records of the Lithuanian Council of the year 1650,<sup>80</sup> with the result that the funds sent for maintenance of the Ashkenazim in Palestine became drastically reduced. From the same records we learn, however, of the efforts to continue assistance to the Yishuv and of a resolution obliging each community in the Province of Lithuania to send their annual donations for the "poor of Palestine" to Lublin at the time of the Gromnic fair. This help apparently was insufficient, and the Council session of 1652 was informed of letters from Ashkenazim in Palestine complaining of their bitter lot.<sup>81</sup>

This assistance and relief were maintained in ensuing years even after the autonomous central organizations of the Jews of Poland and Lithuania were abolished in 1764, through the elaborately organized institution of the *Ḥaluka*. Its appeals for help were based chiefly upon the increased needs of a growing Ashkenazic community in Palestine, the development of which is the subject of the following chapter.

79. An account of this disaster is given by S. M. Dubnow in his *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, translated by I. Friedlaender, I (Philadelphia, 1916), 144-153.

Both the historian Simeon M. Dubnow and his English translator, Israel Friedlaender, were themselves martyrs in two other massacres. The latter met a martyr's death in the Ukraine in July, 1920, while on a mission of relief. Professor Dubnow, according to an eyewitness report, was murdered December 8, 1941 in Riga, in the mass extermination of Jews by the Germans in Latvia.

80. פנקס המדינה (see n. 61, above), 102 (No. 462).

81. *Ibid.*, 113 (No. 492).

## CHAPTER III

## THE ASHKENAZIC COMMUNITY TAKES SHAPE

Two movements, diametrically opposed to one another in spirit and manifestation, their common background notwithstanding, grew out of the catastrophic events described above: One, Sabbatianism, was to disappear in shambles after it had aroused false hopes among Jews for speedy redemption from their miseries in the diaspora. The other, Hasidism, achieved an extraordinary success in lifting the sense of human value among the impoverished Jewish masses, stirring up in them new hopes for "personal redemption" on earth as a stepping-stone to "full redemption to come". Both were currents of a stream that was slowly passing through Safed — that of the Lurianic Kabbalism (so called after its protagonist Isaac Luria, 1534-1572, later known as the Ari, from the initials of the words *אדונינו רבי יצחק* 'our master R. Isaac'). Different as they were in their interpretation of Jewish life and their development, these three movements, Lurianic Kabbalism, Sabbatianism and Hasidism, had a common denominator — Messianism. The motive force in Messianism is explained by Gershom Scholem, the historian and most successful interpreter of Jewish mysticism: "A people that had suffered from all the tribulations which exile and persecution could bring, and which at the same time had developed an extremely sensitive consciousness of life actually lived between the poles of exile and redemption, needed little to take the final step to Messianism."<sup>82</sup>

And Messianism basically meant — the return of Jews to Palestine.

Thus we see the followers of the two movements, Sabba-

82. See his *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 283.

tianism and Hasidism, establishing themselves in the Holy Land, one to end in failure, the other to succeed.

From the circle of Sabbatians in Poland came the move of a group of about 1,500 men, women and children to Palestine in the years 1699 and 1700, organized by Jehuda Hasid of Siedlec and Hayim ben Solomon, better known as Hayim Malakh.<sup>83</sup> There is no doubt that Jehuda Hasid, the leader of the pilgrimage, was intimately connected with the movement of Sabbatai Zevi,<sup>84</sup> while Hayim Malakh was the living spirit of the followers of the "false Messiah" in Poland.<sup>85</sup> On the way to Jerusalem they arrived in Vienna, where they were assisted by the wealthy and influential Court banker Samuel Oppenheimer,<sup>86</sup> who provided them with a permit to sail on the high seas. One part of the group sailed with Hayim Malakh via the Danube and the Black Sea to Constantinople; while the larger part, with Jehuda Hasid, travelled via Venice. Many hardships beset them, nearly a third dying on the way. Jehuda Hasid himself succumbed, after arriving in Jerusalem in 1700 — but he was able to complete the purchase of a courtyard where the party settled and built a synagogue (still known as יהודה החסיד חורבת ר' "the ruin of R. Jehuda Hasid", or די חורבה-שול "the synagogue of the ruin"). The donations promised by Jews in Germany and Poland did not materialize and resort was made to secure loans from their neighbors, the Turks and the Arabs, who, enraged at the inability of the Ashkenazim to meet their debts, demolished the synagogue in

83. For a detailed description see the study by S. Krauss, *Die Palästinasiedlung der polnischen Hasidism und die Wiener Kreise im Jahre 1700, Abhandlungen zur Erinnerung an Hirsch Perez Chajes* (Wien, 1933), 51-94.

A first-hand account of the arrival of this group and its vicissitudes is that of one of his disciples, R. Gedalye Semyaticher, *Shaalū Shelom Yerushalayim* (Berlin, 1716), second edition, with preface and notes by Z. Rubashov, *Reshumoth*, II (1927), 462-493.

84. Gershom Scholem remarks that the nephew of Jehudah Hasid, who was later converted to Lutheranism, tells us that he and his comrades made the journey to Jerusalem 'because of the false Messiah'." (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 415, n. 13).

85. On him see Gershom Scholem in the Chajes Memorial volume (Hebrew section), 332-333. Cf. David Kahane, *The History of the Kabbalists, Sabbatians and the Hasidim* (Hebrew), I<sup>st</sup> (Tel Aviv, 1926), 122-123.

86. See the chapter devoted to him by Max Grunwald, *Vienna*, in the *Jewish Community Series* (Philadelphia, 1936), 113-124.

1720. Starvation followed by an epidemic finally put an end to this attempt at settlement in Jerusalem. Many died, and the remnants fled from the city.

Several sources describe these tragic events. A detailed description is given by R. Moshe Yerushalmi in his itinerary *Sefer Yedey Moshe*, written in Yiddish. In describing Jerusalem he tells of a ban by the Turkish authorities against Ashkenazim, still in effect in 1769, the year the account was published:

The Holy City of Jerusalem, also called quds in Turkish and Arabic... is out of bounds to an Ashkenazi Jew of our countries. Whether he is from Poland or Germany or other countries of Ashkenazim, he is not allowed to enter the city unless he is dressed in the attire of a Turk and knows the Turkish language and it is not known that he is from Germany.

This is because of the event that happened to the group of Hasidim arriving with R. Jehuda He-Hasid the Second, may he rest in peace. It was when R. Jehuda Hasid journeyed with *four hundred* Hasidim that he received the conviction that as soon as he would reach Jerusalem and go to the Western Wall [of the Temple] the Messiah would arrive. The Jews of Germany promised R. Jehuda Hasid that he have not to worry about money for they would supply him with just enough to complete his task so that the Messiah should arrive.

As soon as R. Jehuda He-Hasid arrived in Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days, he, may he rest in peace, performed a [ritual] immersion, after which he intended to go to the Western Wall. But while he was performing the immersion and his disciples were waiting for him, a mouse appeared in the water. Thereupon he began to shout to his disciples to take him out for he was about to die. His disciples took him out and he died, and before the Sabbath was ushered in he was buried.<sup>87</sup>

As soon as the news of R. Jehuda He-Hasid's death reached Germany they stopped sending the money that the Hasidim had relied upon from the Ashkenazim [for their maintenance]. But as money was not sent, they borrowed from the Turks and Arabs three hundred bags of money, a bag being five hundred taler. On this money they lived well, while retaining their hopes in Germany, and they also erected a synagogue from the same money.

When the time was due for payment, they were imprisoned, many were beaten to death, many escaped and many died. I myself met many of these Hasidim in the community of Ashkenazim in Constantinople, where they still retained their Rabbi, Cantor and Sexton.

87. A different account of his death, caused by sudden illness, is to be found above, *Reshumoth*, II, 466-467.



From that time on no one from Germany is allowed to enter Jerusalem unless he wears, as we wrote above, Turkish attire and knows the language. *Their synagogue is still closed as a pledge.*<sup>88</sup>

As to the destruction of the Synagogue of the Ashkenazim by their Turkish and Arab creditors, an earlier account in the Yiddish historical chronicle *שארית ישראל* (first published Amsterdam, 1743) by Menaḥem Man Amelander, says: "In the year [of the creation] [5]481 [=1721] messengers of the Holy City of Jerusalem arrived here [Amsterdam] because of a great calamity endured by them there. For on the eighth day of the month of Ḥešvan of the weekly portion לך לך the Arabs and the Turks attacked the synagogue of the Ashkenazim and burned all the woodwork together with forty scrolls of the Law, and if not for the stone of which the synagogue was built, it would have been burnt, God forbid, to the ground. They have also imprisoned the most important people of the community. The cause of this calamity was that they were much indebted, may God, blessed be He, prevent any calamity from striking them again, Amen."<sup>89</sup>

The end of this group of Ashkenazim in destruction and dispersion is attested to by the contemporary R. Moses Ḥagiz, one of the famous Sephardic Rabbis in Jerusalem, a man of clear vision and fighting spirit: "Now, because of our many sins, the holy community of Ashkenazim in Jerusalem is destroyed, and because of the large total of debts which the community members had incurred, the majority of them wandered abroad, some to the holy community of Hebron and some to the holy community of Safed. Only a few remained in Jerusalem, and they do not have a synagogue of their own or an enclosed courtyard as it used to be before, and they have to pray in a synagogue of the Sephardim."<sup>90</sup>

88. *Seyfer Yedey Moshe*, eyne beshraybung fun erec yisroel . . . , no place, 1769; second edition (Tel Aviv, 1938), 41-42.

The first known copy of this book, at the time believed to be the only one in existence, was found before the war in the Rosenthaliana in Amsterdam. A second copy is in the private library of Salman M. Schocken, Jerusalem. The librarian, Mr. A. M. Haberman, was good enough to show it to me before its republication with his notes.

89. I quote from the second edition, (Fürth, 1767), 95b.

90. *Sefath Emeth*, (Amsterdam, 1707), 26.

As for the "large total of debts" of the Ashkenazim, details are to be found in one of the letters sent by them, about the year 1717, to "the chiefs and leaders residing in the holy community of Breslau" describing the vicissitudes which befell the community and its leaders who are being kept in prison because for the synagogue which they built "we are indebted for the large amount of thirty-two thousand löwen-taler." Appealing for speedy help, the writers add: "Several years have already passed without seeing from you any sign [of help] and we are likewise unable to understand the reason for delaying the holy money which is collected in Poland and despatched through you. Therefore, for the sake of the God of Israel, please hasten [to send it to us] without delay, for one who preserves one soul of Israel is as if he had preserved the whole world, and how much more so if there are preserved, as is the case now, thanks to God, *over four hundred souls* of Israel among the Ashkenazim. And if, God forbid, you will hide your faces not to help... we are ready to suffer martyrdom and sanctify the Divine Name in public, but the guilt will be blamed upon those who were able to help." <sup>91</sup>

Of the hardships endured by the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem we read in another letter, sent in 1717 to the famous Rabbi and book collector R. David Oppenheim of Prague: "The expenses which we have to bear to maintain the poor and destitute in our community are increasing annually. For over *two hundred* holy souls, may the Lord safeguard them, are being provided for from the community chest and they are virtually naked, in want and without bread, and if they were not provided for for one week, they might, God forbid, starve. And because of great need and distress, we have sent about twenty souls abroad, which involved us in expenses of several hundred löwen-taler to Stambul [Constantinople] alone, besides our annual expenses as mentioned above." <sup>92</sup>

91. Isaac Rivkind, *A Bundle of Letters on the History of the Jews in Palestine* (Hebrew), *Reshumoth*, IV (1926), 319.

92. *Ibid.*, 323. — With regard to the contradiction in the size of the Ashkenazic community as between the numbers quoted in the two letters, Isaac Rivkind says: "The second letter was obviously written

To find help in alleviating the "great need and distress" messengers were sent to Jewish communities abroad, especially in Germany, Poland and Lithuania, to make known "the bitter oppression which they the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem suffer nowadays" and "to awaken the hearts to help the poor of Zion" — as we read in the title-page of "Šaalu Šelom Yerušalayim" by R. Gedalye Semyatičēr, one of R. Yehuda He-Ḥasid's disciples and one of the emissaries who left Jerusalem in 1706 on his mission of relief.

R. Gedalye, who was a keen observer, in his little book (first published in Berlin, 1716; second edition, with preface and notes, by Z. Rubashov, in *Reshumoth*, II, 1927) describes the condition of the Ashkenazic community under the oppression of both Turks and Arabs. He dwells at length on the living conditions and on the misery caused by the taxes arbitrarily imposed upon them. He also includes many pertinent details on prevailing customs.

"Jerusalem", writes R. Gedalye, "is a large populated city wherein many nations dwell. It is under [the rule of] the Turk which accounts for the Turks living there. Arabs also live there, for Palestine is [populated] with Arabs having the same religion as the Turks, *and therefore their arm is exactly as strong as that of the Turk himself*",<sup>93</sup> in consequence of which "Jew and Gentile alike are greatly humiliated."<sup>94</sup> But even here there is a difference. The Gentiles, being able to bribe the authorities, fare better: "Generally speaking the Gentiles suffer as much oppression as the Jews, but the Gentiles have much more money, which is sent to them from all countries abroad, while Jews do not have as much money for bribery, hence they are a little more oppressed."<sup>95</sup> This oppression is further described: "They [the Turks] are real villains toward the Jews, and we suffer there many afflictions, each more oppressive than the other, encompassing us daily.

later, when the misery and hardship had increased and when they [the Ashkenazim] were exceedingly afflicted by famine, in consequence of which many Jews were compelled to leave the country and many more were about to abandon it." (*Ibid.*, 318, n. 2)

93. *Reshumoth*, II, 475.

94. *Ibid.*, 476.

95. *Ibid.*, 481. The Hebrew phrase reads: אבל היהודים אין להם ממון רב לשחור ולכן הם קצת יותר בגלות.

Consequently this bitter oppression is very severe, and the city of our Lord is humiliated unto the depths of the nether-world." <sup>96</sup>

It was the ever present burden of taxes that lay heavily upon the community and from which it never emerged. It is instructive to quote in extenso from R. Gedalye's account of the technique used by the Turkish authorities in exacting the taxes:

Each year comes a Turkish [official] sent by the Turkish king who resides in the capital of Constantinople. Mostly, he arrives in Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days, on or about Passover, and anyone unable to pay the taxes is imprisoned, only to be ransomed from the community chest. And while this high official remains in Jerusalem until or after Pentecost, the poor hide in their houses as much as possible and if they are found the community leader must pay for them as mentioned above [the "rich" paying annually two gold ducats for every male of the age of fifteen and over, and the poor one gold ducat].

And the manner of this Turkish [high official] who collects the taxes is that he has servants walking all day in the streets of the town to search for the people who have not yet paid their tax. And whoever has paid the tax is given a document that he has already paid, and anyone found in the street without this document is compelled to go with him [the servant] to the high official with the money on him, or he is imprisoned until he pays if he himself is a man of means, or if he is not able, until it is paid by the community leader. All this is being done by the community of the Ashkenazim as well as by the community of the Sephardim each of which pays for its own poor.

On or after the feast of Pentecost, this Turkish high official mentioned above departs from Jerusalem to collect the taxes in other places save for the holy city of Hebron which has a privilege from the Turkish king not to pay the tax mentioned above. This is because the Patriarchs are buried there in the Cave of Macpelah, and all residing in Hebron, whether Jews or Gentiles, are exempted from this tax, for the Gentiles have to pay taxes to the Turkish king as well.

And each year a Turkish high official by the authority of the Turkish king arrives in Jerusalem to collect all the income due to the king from Palestine and the adjacent countries, these high officials being called in Turkey pašah... And when he arrives in the Holy City he conducts himself like a king, for he is really then a viceroy in Palestine and the neighboring countries. He brings along with him a large army from the capital city of Constantinople and collects all the revenues due to the Turkish king.

At his arrival the Jews bring him worthy presents and bribes in addition to that which he exacts from them on the ground of false charges. On about the feast of Pentecost he departs not to return again, for the next year another pašah arrives on Passover performing the same deed as his predecessor. Because it is the manner of the Turkish government to transfer its officials each year from one place to another and not to leave them two consecutive years at one place."<sup>97</sup>

In these circumstances of oppression from without and misery from within, the existence of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem was precarious. But even in its despair it struggled on to maintain a foothold in the Holy Land while waiting for help from Jews abroad.

Financial assistance for the remnants of the group of R. Jehudah Ḥasid was rendered by the Ashkenazim who arrived in the year 1702 in the party of the wealthy kabbalist R. Abraham Rovigo of Modena, Italy, himself one of the "outstanding representatives of a Sabbatian Kabbalah of more or less definitely heretical character."<sup>98</sup> Our information concerning this party, its journey to and arrival in Jerusalem, as well as a description of the conditions prevailing there in the Ashkenazic community, comes from the account of one of his disciples, R. Mordecai de Lattes.<sup>99</sup>

97. *Reshumoth*, II, 468-469. — A similar observation is made by the contemporary R. Moshe Ḥagiz, who emphasizes that even Christians in Palestine are compelled to pay the high taxes, the protection of their powerful countries notwithstanding: "The ruler of the city, called pasah, is sent by the great Turkish king to protect the town. To cover his large expenses for the army which he brings along with him, he taxes the population of the country, Turks and Arabs, with an annual amount. This goes without saying for the Christians as well, and although they have mighty kingdoms, as that of the kingdom of France, Spain and the Crown Kingdom [Great Britain], or [the protection] of other rulers and nations, it is of no avail, and they have to pay to the ruler of the town and to various other officials, high and low, large amounts of money for their expenses and maintenance according to the wish and desire of these officials. And as long as anyone of them says, 'It is my wish', his mouth must be shut with bars of silver. There is no doubt that for each small coin which they, the Turkish officials, take from our community, a thousand is exacted at first from the Christians although they have behind them protective powers. And what then shall do the hyssop of the wall [an allusion to I Kings 5 : 13], one little lamb of the congregation of Israel, residing among numerous lions and wolves?" (*Sefath Emeth*, 20b)

98. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 317-318.

99. Published from a manuscript, with a detailed introduction and notes by Jacob Mann, *Zion*, VI (Jerusalem, 1934), 59-84.

All these attempts at settlement however were insubstantial, and the Ashkenazim, due to the conditions generally prevailing in Jerusalem<sup>100</sup> and to their own inability to disentangle themselves from the thicket of their debts, could not continue in being as an organized community — a situation well enough known to Jews abroad. No wonder then that the contemporary Jewish chronicler Menahem Man Amelander of Amsterdam makes the observation:

In the Holy City of Jerusalem are fewer Jews than in Safed, and it is considered that a hundred families live these days there... The majority of them are poor people and they sustain themselves on the donations collected for their sake in various countries... One can see daily the messengers sent from Palestine to collect the money donated to the poor of Palestine.

There are two reasons for the small number of Jews in Jerusalem: first, because the Turks as well consider Jerusalem a Holy City and hence many pious Turks reside there, and they hate Jews and Christians alike. Consequently there is less contentedness and freedom in Jerusalem than in any other Turkish cities; second, because little commerce takes place in that city, and since a Jew provides his maintenance chiefly by commerce, few Jews reside in Jerusalem.<sup>101</sup>

This state of affairs continued until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Ashkenazic communities were established in Jerusalem and Safed as a result of the great struggle that raged between the new movement of Hasidism and conservative rabbinism in the Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania and Poland. Hasidism being deeply rooted in Jewish mysticism, love for the Holy Land occupied a focal position in its doctrines, themselves an outgrowth of Lurianic Kabbalism (cf. above, p. 33), The first new step towards settling in Palestine was made by R. Abraham Gershon Kitever, who in the year 1747 arrived with his family to settle in Hebron and later in Jerusalem as head of the Kabbalists from Poland, the rem-

Mann (*ibid.*, 61) is of opinion that no suspicion should be held concerning Abraham Rovigo's affiliation with the Sabbatian movement, and is supported by I. Sonne in *Zion*, IV (1938), 86-87. This view is strongly contested by Gershom Scholem in *The Dreams of the Sabbatian R. Mordecai Ashkenazi* (Hebrew), (Leipzig, 1938), 26-27 and in his notes on the Sabbatians in Italy at the end of the seventeenth century, *Zion*, VI (1940), 94-96.

100. Cf. the detailed study by A. Shohet, *The Jews in Jerusalem in the XVIIIth Century*, *Zion*, I (1936), 377-410.

101. *Sheerith Yisrael* (Fürth, 1767), 76a.

nants of the group of R. Yehuda He-Hasid. Another small group of Hasidim, headed by R. Naḥman Horodenker and R. Menaḥem Mendl Premishlaner, came in 1765 with the purpose of "establishing a center of Hasidism so that the new doctrine be sanctified by the holiness of the land."<sup>102</sup> Succeeding parties of Hasidim now added themselves in 1777, three hundred from Russia, under the leadership of R. Menahem Mendl Vitebsker and R. Israel Polotzker, in Safed; in 1780-81 from Volhynia, Podolia and the Ukraine; and several decades later, in 1823, members of the Habad, adherents of "rational Hasidism", to establish themselves in Hebron.<sup>103</sup>

These migratory movements of the Hasidim prompted their opponents in Lithuania, who called themselves *Mithnagdim*, to follow them with the purpose of reducing the danger of the establishment of a stronghold of this "dangerous schism" in the Holy Land. In pursuance of this, two distinguished representatives, R. Menaḥem Mendl and R. Israel of Shklov, disciples of the leader of the Lithuanian rabbis, R. Elijah Gaon of Vilna, the strict guardian of orthodox Judaism who severely condemned the "heretical" doctrine of Hasidism, left for Palestine. With a group of followers they settled in the years 1808-1812 in the cities of Safed and Tiberias. In the wake of an epidemic in Safed in 1810, they abandoned the town and moved to Jerusalem where they established the community of the *Perushim*, i.e. Mithnagdim, while Safed and Tiberias continued to be, as they are still, centers of Hasidism. For a while their maintenance was provided for by donations from abroad, and when this began to fail, R. Israel of Shklov, the active leader of the Perushim community, went from Jerusalem to secure renewal of the help of their followers in Lithuania and White Russia. His mission successfully completed,<sup>104</sup> he returned, this time to Safed to strengthen the languishing community there. No sooner did he establish him-

102. Simon Dubnow, *A History of Hasidism* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1930), 134.

103. For the ideological background of these migrations, cf. B. Dinaburg in *Zion*, II (1937), 93-105.

104. The preface to his book "Peath Hashulḥan" (Safed, 1836) states that he succeeded in "establishing sound foundations for the settlement of our land in all the provinces of Lithuania and White Russia." (״ליסד יסודות קבועים לישוב ארצנו בכל גלילות ליטא וריסין״.)

self than Safed was overtaken by a combination of calamities: epidemics, attacks by the Druzes, and finally the great disaster of the year 1837 when the city was destroyed, together with Tiberias and Nablus, by a devastating earthquake which played havoc with northern and central Palestine.<sup>105</sup> The Ashkenazic community of Safed of that time ceased to exist. It was Jerusalem that became the largest and most important center of the Ashkenazic settlement in Palestine.

105. An eyewitness account is included in *Sefer Koroth Ha'ittim* by R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer. For its terrible effect on the Jewish community of Safed, see especially Isaac Rivkind, "The Perished of Safed in the Earthquake of [5]597 [1837]" (Hebrew), *Palestine Annual*, II-III (1926), 100-109. Listed among those who perished are Jews of the cities of Vilno, Grodno, Minsk, Pinsk, Brisk, Slonim, Neshviz, Visoke, Tsherkov, Proposk, Rogeve and Stepin — all of Lithuania and White Russia.



## CHAPTER IV

## THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

## 1. LEGAL STATUS

The growth and development of the Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine was to a considerable degree made possible by the tranquility forced on the country by Ibrahim Pasha in the years 1832-1840 when it was occupied by Egypt and its continuation thereafter may be ascribed in part to the intervention of the European countries when Palestine returned to the direct rule of Turkey. To establish the influence and privileges which the "Capitulations" gave them these powers opened consulates for the protection of the interests of their nationals. Thus the British government appointed a Consul in Jerusalem in 1839, the French and Prussian governments appointed Consuls in 1843, the United States in 1844, Austria in 1849 and Spain in 1854. Jews from Russia came under the jurisdiction of the Consul-General at Beirut, but the Russian government also appointed an Agent in Jerusalem whose duty it was to give protection to its Jewish nationals.

It was however the British Consulate in Jerusalem that actually and actively gave protection to the Russian Jews who had not become Ottoman subjects.

A number of factors combined to induce Great Britain to afford its protection to the numerically insignificant Jewish community in Palestine. The editor of the British consular correspondence states: "It is certain that the presence of a Jewish population, largely of non-Ottomans who could get little assistance or protection from their own government, was one of the incentives for the stationing of a British

representative at Jerusalem.”<sup>106</sup> There were also other motives and those indirectly had a bearing upon the development of this community and its struggle for existence.

The period in question, the first half of the 19th century, marks the end of the economic system of mercantilism and the beginning of vast colonial economic expansion in Asia and Africa by Great Britain, trailed by Russia and France. Britain was particularly interested in securing its road to India, the conquest of which in the second half of the 18th century was the highest achievement of England's policy of colonial expansion. Danger loomed from Russia which was gaining a foothold in Persia, a country with a Shi'ite-Muslim population at odds with Sunnite-Muslim Turkey. Persia strengthened her friendship with Russia and transferred the capital to Teheran, close to the Russian borders. Russia also maintained pressure against Turkey from which she previously, in accordance with the Bucharest treaty of 1812, had received the territory of Bessarabia, partly balanced by Austria being given the Turkish province of Bukovina. By expansion into Turkish territories of her influence in the Slavic Balkans, Russia from the Black Sea threatened the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus with her eyes on an outlet to the Mediterranean.

Two powers, Great Britain and France, were interested in the region. Already established in Gibraltar, Malta and the Ionian islands, Britain was making her influence felt in Turkey and Egypt, especially after bringing about the military defeat of Muhamad 'Ali. Egypt was also eyed by a France intent on making the Mediterranean a French sea. She had already occupied Algeria in 1830.

For Great Britain the time had come to secure a foothold in that corner of the Near East that would enable her to control the crossroads between Europe and Asia and more especially secure the passage to India. The aim of British diplomacy was clearly stated by an authority on oriental politics, Sir Austen Henry Layard, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons: "We should not forget that, although Egypt is a high road to India, Syria and the valleys of the

106. Albert M. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine, 1838-1914*. Part I: 1838-1861 (=Hyamson I), London. The Jewish Historical Society of England. 1939, xxxlii.

Tigris and Euphrates form the high road, and any power holding those countries would command India." <sup>107</sup>

It was in connection with this aim that Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister, in 1838 decided to establish a British Consulate in Jerusalem with instructions for its representative *inter alia* "to afford protection to the Jews generally." <sup>108</sup> Although British visitors increased in number in the Holy Land and the interest of the Anglican Church was also growing, the question of the British protection of Jews remained, however, for many years a principal concern of the Consulate. It was the small Jewish community in Palestine which fitted Britain's diplomatic requirement of a "protection element" not sufficiently important to arouse the suspicions of the Sublime Porte or of the other interested European powers. To be sure there was also an undercurrent of English puritanism with its theme of the "restoration of the Jews in the land of the Bible", which fitted in with the contemporary urge of "speedy redemption" among Jews in Europe. It was in accordance with that idea that Palmerston instructed Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, to urge on Sultan Mehmet Ali the encouragement of Jewish immigration to Palestine:

There exists at present among the Jews dispersed over Europe a strong notion that the Time is approaching when their Nation is to return to Palestine; and consequently their wish to go thither has become more keen, and their thoughts have been bent more intently than before upon the means of realizing that wish. It is well known that the Jews of Europe possess great wealth; and it is manifest that any country in which a considerable number of them might choose to settle, would derive great benefit from the Riches which they would bring into it.

Whether Mehemet Ali accepts the first or the second offer which is to be made to him, it would be of manifest importance to the Sultan to encourage the Jews to return to and to settle in, Palestine...

I have to instruct Your Excellency... strongly to recommend them [these considerations] to hold out every just encouragement to the Jews of Europe to return to Palestine.

107. The Turkish Question. Speeches delivered in the House of Commons, quoted by Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, I (London, 1919), 157.

108. *Hyamson*, I, 2.

It is obvious that full and complete security for Person and Property is the necessary Foundation upon which any such Invitation could rest; and it is also manifest that no such security could exist unless all arbitrary Proceedings and all acts of Capricious Authority can be prevented, and unless some impartial Courts of Justice can be constituted, before which Jew and Mahometan might be equally sure of obtaining a just Sentence.<sup>109</sup>

British protection for Jews in Palestine was an idea which naturally appealed to the premier body of Jews in Britain, the Jewish Board of Deputies, headed by Sir Moses Montefiore. It was clearly stated by one of its members, Abraham Benisch, in a lengthy memorandum, entitled "Scheme for the improvement of the civil and moral conditions of the Jews in the East", submitted in 1842 to William Tanner Young, first British Vice-Consul and then Consul in Jerusalem, while the latter was on vacation in London. Basing himself on the religious argument that propagation of Protestantism would encounter vehement opposition from the Catholic powers on the one hand and from Turkish apprehension on the other, Benisch concluded that Britain "must direct her attention to another persuasion legally on a par with the resident Catholics and which evinces no sympathy with either of the Catholic powers. — This persuasion is the Jewish one."<sup>110</sup> Britain could acquire the sympathy of the Jews, Benisch suggested, "by supporting the applications about to be made to the Porte for the establishment of a Colony in some well situated part of Palestine" under the Turkish government, with Britain "to guarantee the maintenance of the conditions under which the Colony shall be formed."<sup>111</sup> That the protection should cover also the Jews already settled in Palestine was particularly emphasized by Benisch. At the same time he made it clear that by undertaking such responsibility Britain would strengthen her influence in the Near East. In the event, when the British Consulate was opened in Jerusalem, protection of the Jewish population became its main diplomatic concern, as is evidenced by the voluminous consular reports.

The reports submitted to the Foreign Office in London by

109. *Hyamson*, I, 33-34.

110. *Ibid.*, 43.

111. *Hyamson*, I, 1.

the consulate in Jerusalem, the British Embassy in Constantinople and the consulate-general in Beirut are not confined to strictly official communications. They contain also various personal observations of a private nature on the status of the Ashkenazic Jewish community in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the country. The following extracts from these reports throw light on the renewed settlement of Jews in Palestine.

In an early communication dated August 16, 1838, Wm. T. Young, the first Consul, informs the Foreign Secretary of the Ashkenazim in Tiberias and Jerusalem that "they are chiefly European Jews, possessing to a certain extent the germs of civilisation."<sup>112</sup> The following year he gave a detailed account of the deplorable condition of the Jews in Jerusalem, reading in part:

A strong proof that the Jews in Jerusalem are on the increase rather than the decrease is that numerous families are to be found living out of their own quarter, this would not be the case if they could find room among their brethren, it may however, be accounted for in some measure, by many of the survivors from the late Earthquake at Saffatt and Tabaria, having fixed their residence here.

The Jews in Jerusalem are in general very poor, there are a few whose means are sufficient to make them independent of the contributions sent from Europe. — For the past two years these contributions have been gradually diminishing...

The spirit of toleration towards the Jew is not yet known here to the same extent it is in Europe — though their being permitted to live in the Musulman Quarter, is some evidence that the fierce spirit of oppression is somewhat abated. It should however be named that they pay more than others do for the rent of their Houses, thus they may be considered in some measure to purchase toleration.

The Pacha has shewn much more consideration for the Jews than His people have. I have heard severall acknowledge that they enjoy more peace and tranquility under this Government, than ever they have enjoyed here before. Still the Jew in Jerusalem is not estimated in value much above a dog — and scarcely a day passes that I do not hear of some act of Tyranny and oppression against a Jew — chiefly by the soldiers, who enter their Houses and *borrow* whatever they require without asking any permission — sometimes they return the article, but more frequently not. In two instances, I have succeeded in obtaining justice for Jews against Turks — But it is quite a new thing in the eyes of these people to claim justice for a Jew — and I have good reason to think that my endeavors to protect the Jews, have been —

112. *Ibid.*, 43.

and may be for some little time to come, detrimental to my influence with other classes — Christians as well as Turks. — If a Jew, My Lord, were to attempt to pass the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it would in all probability cost him his life — this is not very Christian like, considering Christ Himself was a Jew. — And were a Jew here, to fly for safety, he would seek it soother in a Mussulman's house than in that of a Christian.

What the Jew has to endure at all hands, is not to be told.

Like the miserable dog without an owner he is kicked by one because he crosses his path, and cuffed by another because he cries out — to seek redress he is afraid, lest it bring worse upon him; he thinks it better to endure than to live in the expectation of his complaint being revenged upon him. Brought up from infancy to look upon his civil disabilities everywhere as a mark of degradation, his heart becomes the cradle of fear and suspicion — he finds he is trusted by none — and therefore he lives himself without confidence in any.<sup>113</sup>

In such conditions, the news of the arrival of a British representative in Jerusalem with instructions to extend protection to the Jews in Palestine was received with joy by the oppressed people. His entry into the city is described by Young in words which show that he understood also the larger significance of the event:

When I entered the city the Chief Rabbles came out to meet me, and I may state that the appointment of a British Vice Consul in Jerusalem has not been without its effect on the Jewish population. The remotest village in Europe, that contains a Jewish resident, will hear the news that Great Britain has been the first among the nations to shew herself the friend of the Children of Israel, by sending to the City of David a representative.<sup>114</sup>

Especially elated were Russian Jews who settled in Palestine and became stateless as a result of the practice of the Czarist government to disinterest itself in its Jews who migrated from Russia. Thus Young in his report to Palmerston dated June 26, 1839, notes that

...Russia... professes to have no Subjects of the Hebrew persuasion out of Her own Dominions, but by special permission, and then, the absence is only granted for a limited period, I believe for twelve months, during which time, the particular Congregation to which he belongs, becomes answerable for him to the State.<sup>115</sup>

113. *Hyamson*, I, 5-7.

213. *Ibid.*, I, 8.

115. *Ibid.*, 10.

Young's statement that Jews of Russia in Palestine were left without consular protection is corroborated twenty five years latter in a communication dated September 27, 1864, from Baron Lionel de Rothschild to the British Colonial Secretary, Earl Russell:

I have the honour to address this letter to Your Lordship, in consequence of a communication which I have received from Jerusalem...

It is stated that the Jews, not only in Jerusalem, but throughout Palestine, are chiefly from Russia and Poland, with passports originally granted for but twelve months and not renewable.

Thus, at the expiration of that time, the Jews who do not return to their own Countries are left without Consular protection. This happens to be the case with a very large number, and unless they apply to become subjects of the Porte (an alternative by no means desirable) they are without that protection which, not infrequently, they so much require.<sup>116</sup>

In such circumstances it was natural for the stateless Russian Jews to apply for the protection of the British consul. To facilitate matters Young appointed a Jewish dragoman (translator). "I have thought it advisable", he writes to his superior in Alexandria, "to appoint a Jew for the special purpose of communicating more freely and with greater advantage with the Jews — without such assistance it would have been difficult for me to have met the wishes of Her Majesty's Government. A Christian Dragoman could not be found equal to the task of reading Jewish papers — and moreover the prejudice of the Christian against the Jew in Jerusalem amounts to a fanaticism that would quite defeat the object of gaining them the protection they require."<sup>117</sup>

As may be seen from his various communications, Young took his duty of protecting Jews seriously, giving them all the help and advice possible. Sometimes he even overstepped his instructions, for which he was reprimanded. In a judiciously worded letter to the Foreign Secretary he complains:

My situation My Lord has in some respects been one of trial and difficulty, and standing alone as I do here, without any European Col-

116. *Hyamson*, Part II, 334-335.

117. *Hyamson*, I, 7-8. The appointment of a "Hebrew Dragoman", at a salary of £30 a year, was approved by Viscount Palmerston (*ibid.*, 24).

league, and my appointment not very favorably looked upon, by either the local authorities, or the Musulman population, I have in a peculiar manner needed the support and encouragement of my superior officer, that I might act with the firmness and decision which my position has required.<sup>118</sup>

But the support and encouragement he appealed for was not always forthcoming. Moreover, the closeness with which the movements of the British consuls were watched by agents drew the jealous attention of the Russian representative to the special interest shown by British officials in "his" Jews. The Russian consul, too, understood the use that might be made of the Jews in the diplomatic manoeuvres of the great powers.<sup>119</sup> He was stationed in Beirut, so he appointed a "wakil", a "plenipotentiary," officially styled "Vakil des Israelites sujets de Russie"<sup>120</sup> to whose jurisdiction all Russian Jews were expected to submit.

The attitude of the central Russian government of Nicholas I had yet to be clarified, however, when Young was succeeded by *James Finn*, a devoted friend of the Jews, who held the post of British consul in Jerusalem from 1845 to 1862. Taking up the problem of protection for the Russian Jews in Palestine energetically, he asked for instructions from his superior, Lieut. Hugh Rose, the British Consul-General in Beirut, who in turn discussed the matter with the other interested parties, the Austrian consul, D'Adelbourg, and the Russian consul, Basily, whose Jewish nationals comprised the largest part of the Jewish community in Palestine.

Lieutenant Rose reported his findings to Lord Palmerston, and it is in this communication, dated March 27, 1847, that we find important details regarding the treatment to which Russian Jews in Palestine were subjected by their "protectors", who could, and often did, arbitrarily change the legal status

118. *Ibid.*, 17.

119. The designs of Czarist Russia in Palestine did not find altogether innocent expression in the Easter pilgrimage made in large numbers every year by the Greek Orthodox from Russia. As stated in a communication from Wm. T. Young, April 28, 1840: "The pilgrims from Russia have been heard to speak openly, of the period being at hand when this country will be under the Russian Government." (*Hyamson*, I, 29).

120 *Ibid.*, 25.



of those they were supposed to protect, to the extent even of abandoning them to a stateless and helpless condition. The Austrian consul was inclined to afford protection to the nationals of his country. The Russian, however, did not hide the intention of the government of Czar Nicholas I to "contrive a mode of getting rid of the Jewish subjects" in his dominions, and as for those residing in Palestine the imperial desire was that they rather become Protestants than remain Jews. In the account of his conversation with the Russian consul, Lieut. Rose reports:

Mr. Basily says that his government would be glad if the Mission [the English religious mission at Jerusalem] made Protestants of Russian Jew Subjects, that of course he would prefer that they should become Greeks [Greek Orthodox] but he would much rather that they should become Protestants, than remain Jews.<sup>121</sup>

As for the attitude of his government toward the Jews in Russia itself, the consul Basily has this to say:

Mr. Basily said also that the Russian Government were much embarrassed by the conduct of their Jewish subjects in Russia, that they had not come into, or seconded, the measures adopted by his Government for their improvement, that they perverted the Russian lower orders by keeping wine houses, and places of dissipation, that they would not cultivate the soil or second national improvements as sons of the soil ought to do, that in conclusion he foresaw the day when his Government would contrive a mode of getting rid of the Jewish subjects in their dominions.<sup>122</sup>

As is known, the measures adopted by the despotic Nicholas I for the "improvement" of the Jews were in line with his position that they were an "injurious element" in the body politic of the Slavonic Greek-Orthodox monarchy and must therefore be rendered innocuous. Consequently he embarked upon a program of detaching the Jews from Judaism, one of the measures of which was to impress the young men into military service of a discriminating character. The main feature of this was the recruiting ukase of 1827 conscripting children and youths between the ages of twelve and twenty five for a period of twenty five years of active service.

121. *Hyamson*, I, 99.

122. *Ibid.*,

These "corrective measures" opened a new chapter in the martyrdom of Jews in Russia. Other measures of oppression included expulsions from villages and the so-called "Charter of Disabilities" which prescribed, among other things, severe curtailment of the urban area within the Pale of Settlement to which Jewish residence was restricted. They also included "the assortment of the Jews" (or *razryadn*, as it was popularly styled by the sufferers, from the Russian *razryad*, 'category'), by which Jews not having the necessary "property status" or "definite occupations" were declared to be criminal members of society against whom proceedings could be undertaken accordingly.<sup>123</sup>

No wonder then that the Russian government, pursuing a policy with the ultimate aim of ridding itself of its Jews, lent more than a favorable ear to the proposal of relinquishing its Jewish nationals in Palestine to British protection. This was one of the topics discussed by the Russian consul Basily with Lieutenant-Colonel Rose, who informed Palmerston of this proposal:

Mr. Basily added that he was convinced that if Your Lordship expressed a wish to Count Nesselrode [Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs under Nicholas I] that Her Majesty's Consuls should protect Russian Jewish subjects in Syria, the sanction of the Russian Government would be readily given to such a proposition.

I beg to say that I said nothing to elicit this communication from Mr. Basily, which was entirely voluntary, nor did I think it prudent to say that I should make it known to Your Lordship.<sup>124</sup>

While in his communication of July 9, 1847 to the British Foreign Minister, Rose merely says concerning Basily's proposal that "I should think it probable that Count Nesselrode will give effect to his suggestions",<sup>125</sup> he is able to inform him on November 20, 1848 of Basily's statement that "the Emperor of Russia had approved his suggestion"<sup>126</sup> — a con-

123. For details concerning the despotism of Nicholas I, see S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, II, chapters XIII, XIV, and XVII.

124. Hyamson, I, 99. Syria, and not Palestine, is mentioned, for according to the administrative division of the Ottoman empire the latter territory was included in the former.

125. *Ibid.*, 104.

126. *Ibid.*, 109.

sent which was to be expected, as fittingly emphasized by the editor of the British consular correspondence: "Apparently there was a hope if not an expectation in Russian government circles that with the prospect of British protection the whole of the Jewish population of Russia would emigrate to Palestine and thereby relieve the Czar and his government of one of their difficulties."<sup>127</sup>

Palmerston did not consider it expedient to enter into official negotiations with Count Nesselrode to sanction British protection of Russian Jews in Palestine, "because any application so made, and to such an effect, might be liable to misinterpretation, and would probably excite some unfounded suspicion."<sup>128</sup> In addition, difficulties also arose from sections of the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem who were not inclined to put themselves under the control of Consul Finn whom they accused of a missionary zeal for the conversion of Jews to Christianity — a charge supported by the Russian consul Basily and the Austrian vice-consul, Count Pizzamano, but denied emphatically by Finn.

Meanwhile Basily departed from the original intention to transfer the Russian Jews en bloc to British jurisdiction. Instead, each individual was given the opportunity of deciding whether he desired the protection of the British or of any other power. A great number of Russian Jews in Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed applied for and obtained certificates of British protection, upon producing a release from their consul, while Finn was instructed by the Foreign Office, however, that these were merely documents of local protection. He took his duties seriously and to speed up the transfers he employed a special Yiddish interpreter, reporting to Palmerston:

I am now obliged in consequence of the Russian transfer of Jews, to employ a Dragoman expressly for Ashkenaz Jewish language, because the Sephardim Jews disdain to speak, or read, or write in that particular dialect. This will bring my Hebrew service above the allowance of £30.<sup>129</sup>

127. *Hyamson*, in his introduction, I, XXXIX.

128. *Ibid.*, 101.

129. *Hyamson*, I, 157, in his account of December 3, 1849.

In the following years the British consuls intervened on many occasions on behalf of the Russian Jews before various authorities and notably those of the Turkish government, in spite of the fact that the latter was generally opposed to such interference by foreign powers in her territory. During the seventy six years of the existence of the British consulate in Jerusalem (from its establishment in 1839 until its closing down on the outbreak of the first world war in 1914) its representatives were chiefly concerned with protection of the legal status of European Jews, especially those of Russia, defending their civil rights and protecting Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine.

The status of the Ashkenazim in Palestine in the middle of the nineteenth century is described by James Finn in his "summary of political affairs in Jerusalem for the year 1857" dated January 1, 1858, submitted to the Earl of Clarendon, then British Foreign Secretary. After commenting on the Sephardim, he continues:

But the other great section of Jews, the Europeans, who speak German, Polish or Russian [undoubtedly the various dialects of Yiddish] are now rising into importance, under the patronage of their respective Consuls — their political status is greatly improved, and their number has been augmented of late from Russia.

Forty years ago these people were not recognized in Jerusalem — the few who came from Europe were permitted to worship in the oriental synagogues and the Chief Rabbi (always a Turkish subject) was answerable for their good conduct to the Arab authorities. This was previous to the establishment of Consulates.<sup>130</sup>

Regarding other Ashkenazic Jewish communities in Palestine, we read in the same report:

There are three other towns in Palestine accounted sacred by the Jews, namely Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed. In these also the Jews live in their distinct Quarters, and the jurisdiction of Consuls over them though eagerly sought for, is necessarily almost confined to occasional protection against oppression of local governors, and exemption from taxes to the Ottoman government.<sup>131</sup>

130. *Hyamson*, I, 257.

131. *Hyamson*, I, 259.

This protection, as described in general terms above, was an essential element of the Capitulations enjoyed by the foreign powers in the Ottoman empire, which rested upon the international juridical principle of extraterritoriality. While the main purpose of the Capitulations was to protect the commerce of these European powers and foreign merchants, Ashkenazic Jews enjoyed the privileges extended to all non-Ottoman subjects. The benefits derived from the Capitulations by individuals had, however, their damaging effect on the Ashkenazim as a community, as it deprived them of the privilege of franchise in connection with all Ottoman constitutional bodies, such as parliament, district government bodies and city councils, thus almost entirely excluding them from the political scene. Moreover, the Ashkenazim were not officially recognized as an independent community, and a firman (permit) which they applied for to erect a synagogue for themselves — the so-called *Hurvah* in Jerusalem — which if granted would have been tantamount to their full recognition as a religious community, was not obtained until as late as 1857, and then only through the help of the British Ambassador at Constantinople.<sup>132</sup>

The only Jewish community officially recognized by the Ottoman government was that of the Sephardim, all of whom were Turkish subjects, and designated as *yahūdi mileti*, "the Jewish nation", while the Ashkenazim were merely called *sektāğ*, "sects", with a division into Perushim and Hasidim.<sup>133</sup> The official representative serving as intermediary of the

132. James Finn, in his annual report quoted above, writes: "But these Ashkenazim are now erecting at considerable expense a synagogue for themselves, which will be one of the remarkable edifices of the City... The Firman for this Synagogue was obtained by Her Majesty's Ambassador at the Porte on my representations of the necessity for it, and of the property of the site being Jewish." (*Hyamson*, I, 257-258.

133. Thus we read in an English translation of an official document in Turkish reporting the demand of the Austrian embassy "for the restoration of a Jewish Synagogue known by the name of *Sektadj*... and frequented by the sect called *Broushim*. Also the demand... for the grant of permission to construct a Synagogue to another Jewish sect called *Hassidim*... Most of the *Broushims* are Austrians and some are Russians. Some of them were Russians until last year when they were taken under British protection as was then reported. They now amount to 350 families.

"Most of the *Hassidims* are also Austrians. Some are British and

recognized Jewish community towards the Sublime Porte was the Ḥakham Bāši (or the *mīlet bāši*, "the chief of the nation"), elected by the *miḡelisi umūmi*, "the national council" of eighty permanent members from Constantinople and forty representatives of other principal Jewish communities in the Ottoman empire. Only Turkish nationals participated in the elections to this body, Ashkenazic Jews being entirely excluded from it. The legal separation of the two Jewish communities in Palestine was complete, with the Sephardim exercising full control over the organizational structure of the Jewish Settlement and the Ashkenazim finding themselves with obligations but no representation. Conflicts were bound to arise from such a state of affairs, especially in matters of taxation, and they are dealt with in the final chapter of this study.

Only with the conquest of Palestine by the British in 1917 and with subsequent abrogation of the Turkish laws concerning the status of the various national groups in that country was the whole Jewish Settlement in Palestine, consisting of various communities each with a different historical background, finally recognized as an organic entity. An elected National Council (Vaad Leumi) became the only official representative body of the entire community with executive powers to regulate all its internal affairs.

## 2. SOCIAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

In years past in many Jewish homes a small metal box used to stand somewhere in a corner silently and patiently. It was the alms box of "Rabbi Meir the miracle-man," or "Rabbi Meir baal-hanes" as this Tanai was known to the Jewish masses. By their donations, put in the box on various occasions, they participated in the maintenance of the Old Ashke-

some Prussians. A few are Wallachians and Moldavians — their number exceeds two hundred families." (*Hyamson*, I, 237)

James Fink, though well aware of the internal conditions among Jews in Palestine, writes of "a raving fanatic sect of the Jews called the Hhabatnic, or the Hhabat, who reside principally in Hebron." (*Ibid.*, 129) "Hhabatnic, or the Hhabat" is none other than the Hassidic branch of Habad, its chief feature being intense preoccupation with the human mind.

naïve Jewish community in Palestine. It was through this box that their attachment to the Holy Land had been tangibly expressed ever since the institution of the so-called *Ḥaluka*, the distribution of funds collected abroad for the needy in Palestine, was established. To stimulate this affectionate attitude by personal contact with the donors, special messengers, "*Meshulohim*," were sent abroad to solicit the funds. These spread the story of the miserable lot of their brethren in Palestine in appealing words that moved the generosity of their listeners. The attire of the emissary, especially the "*reyte fatsheyle*", the large red shawl, became a familiar sight. To his indefatigability and persistence is to be credited more than once the saving of a precarious situation threatening the congregation on whose behalf he was authorized to collect the alms. To be sure he was often met more than half way, for many of the people he approached were already organized in societies specially for the purpose of helping the needy in Palestine. The impression was gained that the Old Jewish community in Palestine was permanently in dire want, and that its members ate the bread of idleness.

This view was strengthened by reports from inquirers sent out to Palestine by benevolent associations whose opinions were prejudiced. They overlooked the fact that the Ashkenazic community consisted not only of aged people who went to Palestine to die in the Holy Land or of "*Yeshiva-layt*", perpetual students of the Talmud, but also of people who worked for their living. Such a mistaken impression was also conveyed in a British consular report as late as the year 1900, where we read:

There can be no doubt that the majority of Jews arriving in Palestine are of the immigrant class and paupers. The various charitable institutions founded in and around Jerusalem by Benevolent persons and Societies in Europe for the housing and maintenance of such Jews are a visible proof of this and the system of what may be called religious mendicancy encouraged by the Rabbis, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions from all parts of the world with the object of supporting poor Jews is a further confirmation of the general condition of the Jewish community in Palestine. This system under the name of "*Haluka*" is a most "pernicious institution being an encouragement to pillage, sloth and contention among the Jews, who are supported to benefit

by it in Jerusalem, while it is a tax upon the whole Jewish nation outside Palestine." <sup>134</sup>

It is true that there was much undesirable in the social composition of the community. It is also true that some of the Ashkenazic leaders discouraged manual and other productive occupations as detracting from study and prayer. The fact remains, however, that many individuals in the Old Ashkenazic community maintained themselves by their own efforts. Unless this is understood one does not get a correct picture of the Ashkenazic community.

Before proceeding further with an account of the social-economic structure of the Ashkenazic community, based especially on data for the nineteenth century, we have to consider its size. It should be emphasized from the outset that in presenting figures relating to its growth we are handicapped by the lack of accurate statistical data, having to rely on conflicting reports and on estimates which, moreover, chiefly concern only Jerusalem.

The difficulties encountered in an attempt to make a census of the Jewish population in that city with the purpose of ascertaining their needs, are described by James Finn in a report to Lord Palmerston, dated August 22, 1849. He speaks of the opposition of the leaders of the various sections of the Jewish community to the proposed innovations of Sir Moses Montefiore who wished to ameliorate its condition:

The majority commenced by opposing his attempt to make a census of the Jews — quoting the precedent of Israel being smitten with the plague in old times for King David's numbering the people — and a learned Rabbi assured me that when Montefiore (as Sir Moses was familiarly called) was in Palestine last, and attempted to count the Jews, the plague actually arrived and lasted three months — (in this argument, however, there was an inversion made of the order of chronology) — At length Sir Moses induced them to give something like an estimate, when the Rabbis furnished him with a large number of

134. From the report of John Dickson, British Consul in Jerusalem 1890-1906, to Sir Maurice de Bunsen, Secretary of the British Embassy in Constantinople (*Hyamson*, II, 558). The excerpt is contained in a despatch from the Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, which was particularly damaging in view of the efforts of the Turkish authorities to prevent the immigration of Jews into Palestine on the ground of overcrowding. This was only an excuse covering their fear of the political aspect of the Zionist movement.



names (though very incomplete) but refused to count the names they had written.<sup>135</sup>

Based on estimates from various sources, we arrive at the following table of the Jewish population of Jerusalem as compared with the total population for various years between 1827 and 1900 (see table on p. 61):

The obvious disagreement in the figures despite the short intervals between them is to be explained only by the lack of regularly kept statistics. It appears that official representatives of foreign powers interested in obtaining a true picture of affairs in Palestine had ultimately to depend on such statements as "I am told that..." Thus we read in a British consular account of the influx of Jews into Jerusalem, dated November 16, 1907:

The following figures will give some idea of the magnitude of the influx. I am told that one hundred years ago there were not five hundred Jews in Jerusalem. In 1861 out of 13,000 inhabitants of the City 6,000 were Jews. In 1897 the Jews were said to number 28,110 out of a total urban population of 45,420. In 1900 Jerusalem had risen to a population of 50,000, of whom 30,000 were Jews. From the information which I have succeeded in gathering from various sources, I am led to the conclusion that the present population of the Holy City exceeds 80,000, of whom nearly 55,000 are Jews...

At Jaffa the Jewish population has in ten years risen from 1,000 to between 10 and 12,000, and represents one third of the inhabitants of that port.

The whole of Palestine may be computed to contain at present 100,000 Jews, out of a total population of 400,000—450,000.<sup>136</sup>

As with the statistical data, the records concerning the social-economic structure of the Ashkenazic community in Palestine are incomplete. While, however, too few sources are extant to afford any description of the social position in the early period of the Ashkenazic settlement, there is sufficient material for the nineteenth century to provide a fair picture of the artisan section of the community. A picture also emerges of the efforts to ameliorate its condition initiated by

135. *Hyamson*, I, 133.

136. From the report of Consul E. C. Blech to the British Ambassador in Constantinople (*Hyamson*, II, 569-570).

JEWISH POPULATION OF JERUSALEM  
DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Jewish Population</i>	<i>among them Ashkenazim</i>	<i>Source of Information</i>
1827		560	40 families (160 persons)	Loewe, Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, I, 40
1839		5,500		Hyamson, British Consulate, I, 5
1845	30,000	5,000	1,000	Joseph Schwarz, Tvuath Haarez, 156b
1846		7,000	3,000	Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn, 10
1854			over 2,000	Hyamson, I, 225
1856	18,000	5,700	1,700	Frankel, Nach Jerusa- lem, II, 44, 47
1856	<i>Safed</i>	2,100	1,300	Frankel, II, 339
1856	<i>Tiberias</i>	1,514	881	Frankel, II, 360
1858		8,000		Hyamson, I, 257
1861	13,000	6,000		Hyamson, II, 569
1862			3,000	Hyamson, II, 297
1864	15,000	8,000		Hyamson, II, 331
1865	18,000	8,000—9,000		Hyamson, II, 336
1872		8,000	4,000	Graetz, Denkschrift, in Meisl, Heinrich Graetz, 145
1874		3,000 [?]		Hyamson, II, 393
1875	30,000	13,000	7,000	Report to Committee of Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund, London, 1875. 4
1878		8,000—10,000		Claude Conder, in <i>Jew- ish Chronicle</i> , October 25, 1878
1887	40,000	20,000		H. Hisin, Miyoman Ahad Habiluyim, 1925, 114
1890	40,000	"more than half"		Hyamson, II, 450
1891	60,000	35—40,000	"most from Russia and Germany"	Hyamson, II, 462
1897	45,420	28,110		Hyamson, II, 569
1900		nearly 40,000		Hyamson II, 558

Jewish societies abroad and also by non-Jews. Jerusalem, with the largest Jewish population, was the center of these endeavors, and Sir Moses Montefiore (b. 1784 — d.1885), the renowned philanthropist, their staunchest promoter. As President of the Board of Deputies, the representative body of British Jewry, a position which he occupied for thirty-three years (1841-1874) with great distinction, his influence went far and the scope of his activities was wide.<sup>137</sup> Palestine stood at the center of all his thought and improvement of the economic and the legal conditions of the Jewish community was his constant endeavor. Realization, however, fell short of hope, for quite apart from the political stumbling blocks placed across his path by Turkish rule, he overlooked the fact that philanthropy even at its best cannot form the foundation for a sound economic organism.

Yet Montefiore's efforts demand attention. He first embarked upon a plan of settlement about which he says in his diary: "I am sure if the plan I have in contemplation should succeed, it will be the means of introducing happiness and plenty into the Holy Land."<sup>138</sup> To achieve his aim he intended to apply to Mohammad 'Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, whose influence on the then Turkish Sultan 'Abdul Mejid was well known, for a grant of land for fifty years. The British Consul, Young, advised caution in the beginning, so as not to excite the suspicions of the Sultan, but Montefiore in his naïveté saw the grant already given and prematurely expressed the hope that it would "induce the return of thousands of our brethren to the Land of Israel". Concerning this he notes in his diary:

This grant obtained, I shall, please Heaven, on my return to England, form a company for the cultivation of the land and the encouragement of our brethren in Europe to return to Palestine. Many Jews now emigrate to New South Wales, Canada, &c.; but in the Holy Land they would find a greater certainty of success; here they will find wells already dug, olives and vines already planted, and a land so rich as to

137. The best source for his life and work in the considerable literature on him, is the *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*... edited by Dr. L. Loewe, in two volumes. (=Diaries, I, II) Chicago, 1890.

The editor, himself an orientalist of note in his time (b. 1809 — d. 1888), was secretary to Sir Moses and his constant companion on all his missions abroad.

138. *Diaries*, I, 167.

require little manure. By degrees I hope to induce the return of thousands of our brethren to the Land of Israel. I am sure they would be happy in the enjoyment of the observance of our holy religion, in a manner which is impossible in Europe.<sup>139</sup>

His hopes did not materialize. Political conditions prevailing in the Ottoman empire did not favor such plans, and Montefiore had to reduce his program to the introduction of crafts among the Jews in Jerusalem. Even in this he encountered the opposition of the leaders of the Ashkenazic community, to whom any innovation, especially if introduced from the outside, foreboded disruption of their traditional way of life based on the system of Haluka. They argued in a letter addressed to Montefiore in 1849:

First, we deem necessary to inform the Sir that these artisans, tailors, shoemakers, gold- and silversmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths and watchmakers, are unable with these crafts to maintain their wives and children. The number of those who engage themselves in these pursuits among non-Jews, as well as among our Israelite brethren, is large while the earnings of the same in our Holy Land are little. Until recently the number of our Israelite brethren engaged in these pursuits was small and they were able to eke out a living. When the news of the possibility of making a living through handicraft however reached abroad, quite a few artisans arrived here and the wages and earnings of these crafts were drastically reduced. They abhorred to suffer hunger, and a few among them were consequently compelled to return heartbroken to the countries of their origin. And those who remained here would have been forced to do likewise were it not for the assistance they receive from the communal chest of the Holy Land. What then is the advantage to instruct our children in these crafts which are useless to make a living by them, and especially when the number of those engaged in these pursuits is always large.<sup>140</sup>

This appraisal of the situation, although obviously interested, did describe the economic conditions prevailing in Jerusalem. It is corroborated by none other than James Finn, a keen observer of Palestinian conditions in those stirring times — as his records of the period are appropriately en-

139. *Ibid.*

140. From the letter, original in Hebrew, published by Salo W. Baron, "On the history of the Jewish Settlement in Jerusalem", ספר קלוזר, (Jubilee Volume in Honor of Professor Joseph Klausner), Tel Aviv, 1937, 303.

titled.<sup>141</sup> Depicting the miserable condition of Jews in Jerusalem in the year 1854, as a result of the outbreak of the Crimean War which cut off the assistance from abroad, Finn refers to the artisans among them as diligent workers eager to be engaged in their trades, but finding no employment:

Oriental Christians have so great a prejudice and superstitious hatred of Jews, that they would not on any account have dealings with them. The Moslems had artisans of their own, and even when they needed and employed the superior skill or knowledge of some Jewish workman, it was long before the poor Jew could get the money due to him for this work, and in but too many cases, he was too timid to press for payment, and thus never got it at all. Of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem there were at that period none to employ Jews, and pay them for their labour, but the few families belonging to our English congregation. That is to say, there was no employment whatever to be had, excepting an occasional bit of work for some carpenter, glazier, or tailor, etc., and the hundreds of willing Jewish artisans were obliged to exist in compulsory idleness, and chronic starvation.<sup>142</sup>

In such distressful circumstances, by which a considerable part of the Ashkenazic community in Palestine was deprived of its livelihood through no fault of its own, the harsh criticism by outsiders was unwarranted.<sup>143</sup> Although the majority was indeed to be counted among the so-called unproductive elements depending entirely on the Haluka donations from abroad, still a large part disdained the bread of idleness and strove to earn their livelihood by manual labor. These were

141. *Stirring Times or Records from Jerusalem. Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, in two volumes (London, 1878). Published posthumously, with additions and notes, by his widow, Elizabeth Anne Finn.

142. *Stirring Times*, II, 63. — Additional data on the conditions of Jewish artisans in Jerusalem for the same period are to be found in *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn*, London, 1929, 53-55. Cf. below, Vocabulary, chapter IX: Occupations, Trades.

143. This tendency to criticism is especially apparent in the reports of the historian Heinrich Graetz, and of the representatives of the Board of Deputies, Samuel Montagu (Lord Swaythling) and Asher Asher. The views of Graetz, the conclusions of his visit to Palestine in 1872, are expressed in his *Denkschrift über die Zustände der jüdischen Gemeinden in Palästina und besonders in Jerusalem* (published by Josef Meisl, in *Heinrich Graetz*, Berlin, 1917, 142-151). The criticism of Montagu and Asher is embodied in the *Report... to the Committee of the Sir Moses Montefiore Testimonial Fund*, London, 1875.

Although the reports were written in the 1870s, the conditions prevailing then in the Ashkenazic community in Palestine were essentially the same as described by Finn.

the Jewish artisans who were praised for their genuine efforts by *Ludwig August Frankl*, secretary of the Jewish community in Vienna, who saw them on his mission to Jerusalem in 1856 to establish the Lāmel-Schule endowed by Frau Elise Hertz, née Lāmel. He encountered fierce opposition from the fanatically obscurantist leaders of the Ashkenazic community, who saw in his intentions an intrusion into their domain. However, he was impressed by the workingmen whom he found among the 1,700 Ashkenazim then living in Jerusalem: "I am unable to pass over in silence that I was much pleased to be in their midst, feeling at ease. Here before me were plain people whose longing for the Holy Land was the cause for their arrival here; who piously and honestly, good-naturedly and vehemently care for and devise the necessities of life; who although discontented with the domination of the Rabbis, piously and devotionally observe the religious precepts considered holy by them. They constitute throughout an honorable and capable portion of the Jewish population in Jerusalem. At no time did I have to hand over work of any kind to Mohammedans or Christians; for each, Jews were available."<sup>144</sup>

Frankl enumerates the Jewish artisans: "At the time of my stay in Jerusalem I found 1 bricklayer, 2 stone-cutters, 1 mattock, 12 carpenters, 1 locksmith, 2 blacksmiths, 6 tin-smiths, 5 watchmakers, 1 grinder, 2 stone-engravers, 5 silver- and goldsmiths, 5 bookbinders, 6 lace-makers, 20-24 tailors, 15 shoemakers, 2 dyers, 5 barbers, 10 bakers, 3 confectioners, 30-40 distillers (only Poles and Russians)<sup>145</sup> and makers of wine...

"Among those who pursue other occupations in Jerusalem, are 40 'Melamdin' [teachers in Heder and Yeshivah, the elementary and higher schools], 5 scribes [of scrolls of the

144. Ludwig August Frankl, *Nach Jerusalem! Zweiter Theil: Palästina* (Leipzig, 1858), 108. — Years later, in 1875, Montefiore makes a similar remark after a visit to the Nisan Bek Synagogue in Jerusalem: "I was told that the whole building had been built by the hands of Jews. Every kind of work, it was further observed — that of the carpenter, blacksmith, glazier, embroiderer, goldsmith, or engraver — all had been done by the Jews in Jerusalem." (*Diaries*, II, 280)

145. Frankl writes "nur Polen und Russen", i.e. Ashkenazim from Poland and Russia.

Law, called *sofrim*], 2 musicians, 12 merchants, 20 storekeepers, 3 money-changers, 10-12 peddlers.

"The Ashkenazim are considered to be the better craftsmen, having acquired their trade in Europe; also in numbers they exceed those of the Sephardim."<sup>146</sup>

Of the ratio of the productive elements in the Jewish population of Jerusalem, Frankl says: "In summing-up, the number of those occupied, the sum total would be 239, thus only one-twenty-fourth of the whole [Jewish] population are practically employed, while 5,461 persons, including women and children, are idle and without any trade."<sup>147</sup> This state of affairs was due to the atmosphere of charity which beset the Jewish populace of the Holy City, weakening any initiative towards self-help, and also to the disdain felt for manual workers by the "learned people" who dominated in Jerusalem and of whom Frankl ironically remarks: "It is the Biblical saying, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread' that in Jerusalem itself, where such word of the Scriptures is holy, has no value."<sup>148</sup>

Of other cities with a Jewish population, Frankl gives some data on *Safed*, the second largest Jewish community, and on *Tiberias*. In the former 2,100 Jews resided at that time, of whom there were 1,300 Ashkenazim (900 from Russia and 400 from Galicia) and 800 Sephardim. Only 41 had a trade, namely, 4 bricklayers, 2 carpenters, 5 tinsmiths, 7 tailors, 4 shoemakers, 15 storekeepers, and 4 scribes.<sup>149</sup> In the still smaller community of Tiberias, with a Jewish population of 1,514 (among them 881 Ashkenazim and 633 Sephardim), the number of those gainfully occupied was negligible: 1 blacksmith, 2 bricklayers, 1 carpenter, 3 tailors, 1 shoemaker, 2 watchmakers, 1 fisherman, — eleven in all, besides 6 storekeepers.<sup>150</sup>

It is Jerusalem, however, and the efforts of Sir Moses Montefiore there that attract our attention in examining the social-economic structure of the Ashkenazic Jews of Palestine.

146. *Nach Jerusalem*, II, 108-109.

147. *Nach Jerusalem*, II, 109.

148. *Ibid.*, 110.

149. *Ibid.*, 339.

150. *Nach Jerusalem*, II, 360-361.

There was a continuous struggle going on to pull itself out of its economic distress, but by itself it was unable to succeed. The community needed assistance from outside, as is emphasized by its leaders in answer to Montefiore's inquiries during his sixth visit in the year 1866. The entry in his diary notes a consensus of opinion among both Ashkenazim and Sephardim that building houses for the poor and the establishment of loan societies for the craftsmen, among others, "were some of the most essential means that could be devised to alleviate the then distressful condition of the inhabitants."<sup>151</sup>

Montefiore proposed new plans for creating productive work, and in order to sound out opinion as to the best ways to realize them, he addressed a letter in 1874 to the various congregations of the Jewish community in Palestine. In the replies<sup>152</sup> the writers expressed the willingness of the larger part of the community to respond to his call for the introduction of useful occupations into the feeble economic structure. It was noteworthy to find that among the persons who replied to Montefiore's inquiry were representatives of groups considered fanatical who, on similar occasions previously, had demonstrated their suspicion and their fierce opposition to every effort intended to mitigate their desperate conditions, the economic basis of which was the Halukah. No doubt, they now realized that new sources of livelihood must be found to meet the needs of the growing Jewish population.

With that increase of population in Jerusalem in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century (see the statistical table, above), a change in the social atmosphere took place. The greater needs of the growing community called in the first place for more housing, and so we witness the abandonment in part of the Jewish quarter of the Old City and the establishment of new ones outside the city walls.<sup>153</sup> A number of societies were organized for the purpose, mutual help being

151. *Diaries*, II, 178.

152. This correspondence is included in *Translation of a letter addressed by Sir Moses Montefiore, etc. to the Jewish Congregations in the Holy Land, etc. and of the Replies Thereto*. London, 1874.

153. The following quarters were established: at the beginning of the seventies — Nahlath Shiv'ah; in 1874 — Meah She'arim (with over 100 houses completed by 1881); in 1875, the quarters of the societies Even Israel and Beth Jacob.



one of the main features of their program. In addition benevolent associations were established among both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. Of the activities of some of these we are informed in various entries in the diary of Sir Moses Montefiore while on his seventh, the last, visit to Palestine in 1875.<sup>154</sup> Thus we hear of a free loan association, established in 1869, with 119 members and a fund of 55,000 Turkish piastres;<sup>155</sup> of an Ashkenazic society, Bikkur Ḥolim ('visiting the sick') for the alleviation of illness among the needy;<sup>156</sup> of the society Derekh Ḥaḥayim with 106 members, of which Montefiore says: "This society has... been established for enabling the mechanics and trades-people to have every day an appointed hour for Biblical studies."<sup>157</sup> In addition, it assisted its members in time of need, spending annually the amount of 4,000 piastres.<sup>158</sup> Two hospices for strangers, the traditional Jewish institution regarded as "a general virtue of all the congregations in Israel",<sup>159</sup> to provide accommodation for homeless travellers in Jerusalem for three days, are also among the institutions mentioned.<sup>160</sup>

In this new atmosphere of social activity, the first association of Ashkenazic craftsmen, "Ḥevrath Po'aley Cedek" (The Society of Workers of Justice), was organized in 1874 in Jerusalem.<sup>161</sup> The following year, while on a visit in Jeru-

154. His diary is included in *An Open Letter* addressed to Sir Moses Montefiore... by the Rev. Meyer Auerbach... and the Rev. Samuel Salant... together with a Narrative of a forty days Sojourn in the Holy Land. Second Edition, London, 1877. (= *An Open Letter*) — The letter, originally in Hebrew, entitled *מכתב גלוי* is included. A Hebrew translation of this diary, *ספר משה וירושלים*, by Asher Amsheyevitz, was published in Warsaw, 1879.

155. *An Open Letter*, 105, 128.

156. *Ibid.*, 127.

157. *Ibid.*, 128.

158. *An Open Letter*, 129.

159. Cf. Salo W. Baron, *The Jewish Community*, II, 327.

160. *An Open Letter*, 105-106. Similar Sephardic societies are described, *ibid.*, 138.

161. With the society, its development and regulations, the writer has dealt at length in *Yivo Bleter*, XVIII (1941), 192-202, and in earlier papers on the history of the Yiddish press in Palestine, published in *Kovetz Maamarim* on the History of Newspapers in Palestine (Hebrew), II (April, 1936), 114 and in the weekly *Literarische Bleter* (Yiddish), No. 20 (May 15, 1936). A description is also given by A. R. Malakhi in the *Year Book* of the Federation of Palestine Jews (New York, 1936), 16-21. An additional account is that by Dov [Bernard] Weinryb in the Hebrew daily *Davar* Tel Aviv, March 25, 1937.

saalem, Montefiore records in his diary: "A number of mechanics "חברת פועלי צדק" were announced seeking an interview with me, but I was unable to receive them today in consequence of some pressing correspondence I had."<sup>162</sup> From its program and regulations (in Hebrew and Yiddish), with their strong social and religious color, we learn that economic self-interest was the main motivating force in the formation of the association. Although the pattern for organizations of this kind had been set earlier by the Jewish craftsmen guilds in Poland and Lithuania, the special Palestinian character of the Po'aley Cedek society is noticeable. The code of rules and regulations approved by the members, to be implemented by elected trustees, included provision for the following: mutual help; relief for aged members; appointed hours for Biblical studies; "to honor the Bible and the learned men"; membership dues; material help to a member-apprentice on his marriage or for a dowry for a member's son or daughter; the performance of funeral rites for a deceased member; care for his widow and orphans; acceptance of new members with special attention to new arrivals from abroad; members' duty to pray in the synagogue of the association; preventing conflicts among members and the duty of the trustees to refrain from participating in public discords; the obligation of each member to have his children taught the elements of writing and arithmetic; the privileges of supporting members abroad; and donations to the society on various occasions.<sup>163</sup>

The later development of the society shows that it was unable completely to live up to its program. Thus, it was impossible to restrain members from taking part in the frequent quarrels and clash of interest among the various factions in Jerusalem, quarrels for which the city was "famous", especially in connection with irregularities in the administration of *Halukah*. Themselves belonging to the socially oppressed, it was natural for these Jewish artisans to extend a helping hand to those against whom wrong was committed by the leaders of the community. Consequently we find members of the society involved in the struggle led in the seventies of the 19th

162. *An Open Letter*, 109.

163. These regulations are included in *Maḥbereth Hevrath Po'aley Cedek* (Jerusalem, 1875), 13-16 (in Hebrew) and 17-22 (in Yiddish).

century by R. Akiba Joseph Schlesinger, a Hungarian Jew, one of the most colorful personalities of the Old Ashkenazic community, against his fellow-countrymen in the "Kolel Ungarn," which was the richest congregation in Jerusalem.<sup>164</sup>

He conceived a plan to reorganize the Jewish community in Palestine along lines of a productive life. He called for the abolition of the Halukah. Although himself an orthodox Jew, he sharply criticized the misconduct of the leaders of his orthodox congregation, challenging them to give account of the appropriations entrusted them by the donors from abroad. Fearing his influence — Akiba Joseph Schlesinger was a disciple of R. Abraham Samuel Sofer, a son of the famous rabbinical authority in Hungary, the Hatam Sofer — they attacked his writings as heresy, and they aroused the wrath of fanatics who threatened his life. The association of Po'aley Cedek sided with Schlesinger and guarded him against his assailants — a fact mentioned by him with gratitude on the occasion of Montefiore's visit in 1875 in Jerusalem. Relating his struggle at length, Schlesinger writes:

Shortly thereafter Sir Moses Montefiore, of blessed memory, arrived in Jerusalem. He was received with great honor and it would have been appropriate for me to take part in this reception. I did not, however, trust myself to leave my house for I received threatening letters constituting a real danger [to my life]. Were it not for the society Ezrath Israel which together with the association of Po'aley Cedek kept a steady watch over me, the Lord knows what might have happened.<sup>165</sup>

The harmony which the founders of the society intended to foster among its members also fell short of expectation. Unity was disrupted, and the accounts of the later years of its existence are full of accusations of one official against another. Its usefulness was impaired. The last record of its

164. A sketchy portrayal of his life and activities is to be found in ספר מאה שנה (The Book of a Century), Tel Aviv, 1938, 387-398. For a full biography, see *Rabbi Akiba Joseph Schlesinger* by A. J. Shahrai, Jerusalem, 1942.

165. *Kuntres Shimru Mishpat*, by Akiba Joseph Schlesinger, Jerusalem, 1900, 37a (Yiddish section). This book, together with other writings by Schlesinger, was seized by his fanatical opponents and burned. Only a few copies are extant. I quote from a copy in my possession.

activities, when it had a membership of 133, is included in a report on Jewish societies in Jerusalem in 1881.<sup>166</sup>

A society of the character of Po'aley Cedek was, as may be inferred from the situation described above, an outgrowth of the emergence of Jewish artisans, now in considerable numbers, as a distinct social group within a larger Ashkenazic Jewish community in Jerusalem. The needs of this growing community called for craftsmen of many kinds. A list showing their variegated occupations is to be found.<sup>167</sup> They include 45 shoemakers, 11 tinsmiths, 14 goldsmiths, 42 carpenters, 35 turners, 6 blacksmiths, 5 coppersmiths, 46 tailors, 11 bookbinders, 5 sewing-machine mechanics, 9 coffee- and grits millers, 6 engravers, 7 bricklayers, 10 plasterers, 5 furriers, 5 glaziers, 12 typesetters, 10 printers, 8 barbers, 3 stonecutters, 3 dyers, 2 weavers, 2 upholsterers, 2 potters, 4 umbrella-makers, 1 saddle-maker, 2 house-painters, 3 cap-makers, 11 watchmen, 22 scribes of Scrolls of the Law, 2 interpreters, 12 porters and one optician. In addition 89 apprentices had been taught a trade, among them 17 shoemakers, 4 goldsmiths, 23 carpenters, 30 turners, 3 watch-makers, 8 tailors and 4 bookbinders.<sup>168</sup>

Describing conditions among the Jewish artisans in Jerusalem, the writer of the report, Abraham Moses Luncz, noted for his researches in the history and topography of Palestine, emphasizes the fact that their number was far greater than the available work required. Consequently wages were low, even for those whose work was in greatest demand, namely tailors, shoemakers and carpenters.<sup>168</sup>

It appears that the artisans, unable to maintain themselves and their families on their low wages, had to turn to relief from outside. Assistance came in varying degrees from the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* (founded in 1860 in Paris with the dual purpose of defending Jewish rights everywhere in the world and ameliorating the condition of the Jewish com-

166. A. M. Luncz in *Yerushalayim*, I (1882), 27 (German Section).

167. A. M. Luncz, "The Jews in Jerusalem, II. The Ashkenazim". *Jewish Chronicle*, April 18, 1879. — The same figures are also quoted in *Yerushalayim*, *ibid.*, 53-57.

168. Cf. above, pp. 57-58, in a letter to Moses Montefiore and in the account of James Fihn where the economic condition of the Jewish artisans in Jerusalem is described.

munities in the Near East), the *Anglo-Jewish Association*, organized by British Jewry in 1871, and the *Israelitische Allianz*, established in 1873 in Vienna.

The artisans also turned for help to the *Central Committee of the United Jewish Congregations* in Jerusalem, known under its Hebrew name "Vaad kol Hakolelim", organized in 1866 to coordinate the activities of the various "Kolelim" (congregations) in connection with the distribution of the Halukah, and, especially, to represent the Ashkenazic community in fiscal matters before the Ottoman government.<sup>169</sup> Its program of community activities conformed to the views of the orthodox leaders. It emphasized that study of the "Holy Law", made possible by donations from abroad, was the principal basis of its existence, and that manual labor was no more than a secondary matter, while all innovations in this way of living were to be rejected. These views are clearly expressed in one of the semi-annual reports of the Central Committee:

Our former eminent Rabbis... established the Settlement in the Holy Land with the sole purpose of studying the Holy Law. But the moderns, in their desire to be wise, are shouting, "What good are the Holy Law and the commandments, if your life is miserable because of it?" Well, the truth of the matter is that the Settlement in the Holy Land could primarily exist on the Torah and divine service, with only a trifle of labor and craft. The country is small in size, and the needs of the inhabitants are few as is known to everybody. Consequently there is no room in this country for much labor and craftsmanship. Like very careful people we considered the best possible ways to maintain the holy Settlement in the Holy Land, and experience has shown that we have to follow in the path of our former eminent Rabbis, which means that the Torah is the main object. Because the majority of the inhabitants of the Holy Land are aged and feeble people who are only able to study the Torah and nothing else. Labor and craftsmanship however which will yield even some livelihood should by all means be supported as much as possible, and as one may find in our reports.<sup>170</sup>

169. An account of the activities of the "Vaad kol Hakolelim" is given by A. M. Luncz in *The Halukah, its Origin and Ramifications* (Hebrew), second edition, Jerusalem, 1912, 97-103 (Previously published in *Yerushalayim*, VII [1906], 25-40, 181-201).

170. Preface to the report *Shemesh Cedakah* (with a summary in English entitled *Sun of Righteousness*), IX (April, 1889), 3.

In line with this policy, as the reports reveal, the help rendered the artisans in Jerusalem by the Central Committee of the United Jewish Congregations was very little indeed. This is evident from the figures for the first five years of its activity, 1885-1889, based upon the semi-annual reports. For comparison, we show also the amounts paid out to the "learned men and those professionally devoted to prayers", who were, in fact, the more prominent beneficiaries of the Halukah. The Committee's total expenditure is also shown, together with the artisans' share in that total. The figures are given in piastres.<sup>171</sup>

<i>Period</i>	<i>Relief for artisans</i>	<i>Relief for distinguished recipients</i>	<i>Expendi- ture Total</i>	<i>% Arti- sans</i>
(1) <sup>172</sup> Oct. 1884-Oct. 1885	183.00	6,102.20	281,747.15	0.06
(2) Oct. 1885-Apr. 1886	210.20	1,636.30	160,148.30	0.13
(3) Apr. 1886-Jan. 1887	499.20	2,513.00	217,345.25	0.22
(4) Jan. 1887-Apr. 1887	54.10	518.20	112,876.00	—
(5) Apr. 1887-July 1887	4,377.45	499.00	175,737.00	2.43
(6) July 1887-Oct. 1887	726.20	3,282.00	121,905.00	0.51
(7) Oct. 1887-Apr. 1888	963.25	3,633.30	233,576.35	0.41
(8) Apr. 1888-Oct. 1888	2,806.20	5,561.50	287,796.25	0.90
(9) Nov. 1888-Mar. 1889	1,932.20	4,140.20	262,279.10	0.70
(10) Apr. 1889-Oct. 1889	4,250.20	6,091.10	342,997.25	1.20

The insignificance of the sums allotted for relief to the artisans is seen in that only once did it amount to about 2.5% of the total expenditure and and to a little over 1% in some other period. The paucity of the help given to them becomes even more evident from the number of individuals granted relief. Taking artisans only, it appears that during the whole period of five years they numbered only 123, among them: 14 shoemakers, 11 tailors, 8 book-binders, 8 carpenters, 5 tin-

171. The amounts shown in the reports are in piastres, the foreign exchange rate of which is given (in Report II, of the Hebrew month of Iyar, 1886) in the following note: "All our accounts are quoted in grüßpiastres the rate of which is 5.16 to one franc, 13.15 to one Russian ruble [= 51.5 cents], and always subject to the daily exchange."

172. The figures in parenthesis indicate the respective number of the report in *Shemesh Cedakah*. The dates of the Jewish calendar employed there are here converted to those of the Julian calendar, in accordance with the tables published by L. Cohen, *Tausendjähriger Umrechnungs-Kalender*, Rees am Rhein, 1894.

smiths, 5 goldsmiths, 4 house-painters, 3 glaziers, 2 coopers, 2 blacksmiths, 1 bricklayer, 1 turner, 1 locksmith, 1 stone-cutter, and 1 grinder — 67 craftsmen in all, mentioned by name in the reports.

Since the figures quoted above refer only to those in receipt of relief, they do not represent all the craftsmen living in Jerusalem at the time. They convey however a reliable picture of the distribution of trades among the Ashkenazim. It follows the familiar pattern of the distribution of trades among Jewish artisans abroad. The most representative craftsmen were shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, bookbinders and tinsmiths, in that order, with blacksmiths, locksmiths, grinders and stone-cutters trailing behind. One occupation of a purely local nature is to be noted, namely the production of articles of olive-wood. A group of fishermen on the Jordan is also mentioned.

The presence of the fishermen indicates a new trend in the development of the growing Jewish community in Palestine. It derived from the *Hibbat Zion* ("Love of Zion") movement and from political Zionism, which had the aim to restore the Jews to Palestine and there "to establish for the Jewish people a publicly and legally recognized home", as laid down in the program of the first Zionist Congress which took place in 1897 in Basel. These movements, spreading throughout Europe and beyond in the nineties of the last century, stressed the necessity of productivization of the Jewish masses generally and the return to the soil in particular. From now on agriculture with allied occupations, which had been closed to Jews for centuries, was to become the basic occupation of the Jews settling in Palestine. Thus the period of Jewish settlement in Palestine began with the scene of activity shifting from Jerusalem to Jaffa and its vicinity and to various regions in Lower and Upper Galilee.

These fundamental changes in the social-economic structure of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine at first left the Old Ashkenazic community untouched. With very few exceptions indeed its members clung to their old way of life, deeply entrenched in its traditions, on which time apparently had no effect. Then the "ancient walls" began to show cracks under the impact of the changing conditions, especially after the

first World War when increased Jewish immigration completely destroyed the dominating position of the "Old Yishuv". The process was hastened when Ḥalukah, the main source of livelihood for the larger part of this community, decreased noticeably or entirely ceased to arrive after the disruption of many East European Jewish centers during and after the war and the sealing off from outside contacts of the great Russian Jewry by the Bolshevik revolution. Naturally, Palestine was particularly affected.

What changes actually did take place in the Old Ashkenaic community of Jerusalem, Tiberias and Safed, the three cities of its habitat, it is difficult to determine. Lacking the necessary data — for no competent sociological study of its structure is yet available<sup>173</sup> it may be said, on the basis of personal observation, that the trend of the Old Yishuv is towards integrating itself into the general economic structure of the Jewish community in Palestine. Culturally, however, it remains a distinct group, living according to century-old patterns, with no intimate contacts with the cultural life that expresses itself in Hebrew. The Yiddish language in its various dialects is its sole medium of expression in daily life and also in the educational institutions<sup>174</sup> which the community maintains on a separatist basis and which were not included in the Jewish school system of the Vaad Leumi in British Mandatory times nor today in the educational system of the State of Israel. All this is part and parcel of the diversity, ethnical and religious, linguistic and social, which was and is so intrinsic a characteristic of the population of which the Old Ashkenazic Jewish community constitutes an integral part.

173. A recent publication, *Traditional Institutions in Palestine* (in mimeograph) by Dr. Mark Wischnitzer, (New York, April 1946) comprises "a special study of 121 educational and welfare institutions" which received 50 percent of their total financial support, in recent years, from the Jewish communities of the United States and Canada. As Dr. Wischnitzer emphasizes: "Reports have not been received directly from the Palestinian institutions represented in the study, and it was therefore necessary to obtain the required data through various secondary channels."

174. Apart from Rabbinical writings, which are usually in Hebrew, and apart from one special exception: *Kol Yisrael*, organ of the Agudath Yisrael, which, though most vehemently opposing secular encroachments, is published in modern Hebrew.



## CHAPTER V

## CONFLICTS BETWEEN ASHKENAZIM AND SEPHARDIM

With the numerical increase of the Ashkenazic community and its ultimate growth into a majority in the Jewish Settlement in the second half of the nineteenth century, one more phase of its development was completed — that of detachment from the Sephardic hegemony. This process, to be sure, was slow, full of conflict and of clashes in which both communities resorted to various and dubious means to vindicate their “just cause” before government authorities as well as before their respective supporters abroad, on whose efforts their maintenance depended. To begin with, the two communities differed sharply in language (Yiddish of the Ashkenazim, and Ladino of the Sephardim), customs (too numerous to be detailed here), the form of prayers (according to the rite of the German Jews and according to the rite of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews), and the ritual for the slaughtering of animals (the Ashkenazim following the laws of the 16th century Rabbinic authority of Poland, R. Moses Isserles, and the Sephardim observing those of the famous codifier of the same century, R. Joseph Karo). As is evident, the cleavage between these two communities was determined largely by their having lived under different influences — the Ashkenazim in Christian countries, and the Sephardim chiefly under the rule of Islam — and was already in existence when they met on common ground, in Palestine.

While these differences were essentially of a static nature, remaining unchanged for generations, sharp divergences of an *economic* character aggravated the separation between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine and produced conflict. *Ḥalukah* from Ashkenazim in Europe and the share of it to be allocated to the Sephardim, on one hand, and the contribution

of the Ashkenazim in *government taxes*, on the other, were sources of continuous intercommunal controversy. Arrangements arrived at for the division of donations collected among Jewish communities abroad for the maintenance of the poor of Palestine often led to protracted complaints, if not in failure. While they were still few in number, the Ashkenazim felt themselves discriminated against by the Sephardic majority which claimed patronage over them. They felt especially wronged when the Sephardim themselves began to send emissaries to the German and other Ashkenazic communities in Europe to collect donations for the exclusive use of their own group.

This practice was naturally strongly contested by the Ashkenazim, and we see their case stated in a letter of the year 1693 written by the Rabbis of Cairo, which was a kind of clearing house for the contributions from the East, to the Rabbis of Venice, who served similarly for the donations collected in Europe. We are told that messengers from Palestine "are proceeding to cities of Germany and Poland emptying the charity chests" by alleging that "in addition to the holy community of Ashkenazim in the Holy City of Jerusalem there are Ashkenazim living in other cities of Palestine, for instance in Hebron, in Upper Galilee and adjacent localities, and that they are their messengers... and by it they have made it impossible for charity and relief to arrive for the community of Ashkenazim in the Holy City of Jerusalem" who are "persecuted and ill-treated by the authorities who molest them and the creditors who oppress them."<sup>175</sup> An inquiry by the Cairo Rabbis only confirmed the fact that "the entire holy community of Ashkenazim are residing in Jerusalem" and that the few of them in Hebron were counted among the Sephardim. Furthermore, the Cairo Rabbis stated, "they were pleased with the agreement made by the Rabbis of Poland, which stipulated that all vows, donations, last wills and bequests made... in all provinces of Poland and Germany... shall be only for the holy community of Ashkenazim

175. Quoted from the letter published by I. Sonne in his "Further notes on the relations between Palestine and the Jewish Councils and Communities in Poland" (Hebrew), *Zion*, I (1936), 253.

in Jerusaelm and that no stranger shall have a part in it.”<sup>176</sup>

As might have been expected, this agreement, which was to run for three years, was not favorably received by the Sephardim, especially when it was further laid down that they (the Sephardim) were to pay government taxes for the Ashkenazim on condition that the latter would hand over their relief monies to them. Subsequent development is dealt with by the contemporary rabbinical authority, R. Abraham b. R. Mordecai Halevy. “After a certain time passed”, we read in his Responsa, “several men of the community of Sephardim protested against the agreement by saying: ‘who may prevent others from giving their charity as their hearts desired’, and they maintain that Sephardic emissaries should go to all cities in Germany as they like.”<sup>177</sup> The Ashkenazim replied by maintaining that “as of old a custom prevails that Sephardim everywhere send their donations to the holy community of Sephardim in Palestine, and never was an allocation made, nor even any insignificant sum given, to the Ashkenazim among them; the same is also true of the cities of Germany which send donations to their Ashkenazic brethren in Palestine, and nothing of it is given to the Sephardim.”<sup>178</sup> Moreover, the Ashkenazim complained, “the Sephardic emissaries [in Germany] do not merely satisfy themselves with cutting off the maintenance from them and with emptying the relief chests of the Ashkenazim, but they also are spreading evil reports about [the Ashkenazim of] Jerusalem, that they are unworthy recipients of charity, and they are trying to persuade people in those localities to send their donations annually to the city of Hebron . . . in consequence of which they cause misery and trouble to the Ashkenazim.”<sup>179</sup> To underline their

176. *Ibid.*, 254. — R. Hayyim Joseph David Azulai, famous Palestinian emissary, was unaware of a similar arrangement made while on his mission in 1754 to Germany, and he complained of being dismissed with abuse. He was to be reminded by the Rabbi of the Province of Ansbach that “we have an arrangement with the Rabbis and overseers of Constantinople by which they agreed that not a penny shall be given to any emissary and that all the money be designated for the poor of Palestine.” (Cf. his itinerary *Ma’gal Tōb Ha-Salem*, edited by A. Freimann, Berlin, 1921, 15).

177. *Ginnath Veradim*, (Constantinople, 1712), Part of Yoreh Deah, section (kelal) 3, No. 9.

178. *Ibid.*

179. *Ginnath Veradim*, *ibid.*

distress, they describe themselves as "captive by the sword" because of the many debts that press on them, and they end with the ominous warning: "Should this affliction continue, there will be no restoration for an Ashkenazi in Jerusalem forever and this should not happen, for Ashkenazim also have their lot and inheritance in the land of Beauty, and Jerusalem was never allotted to [particular] tribes."<sup>180</sup> "כי גם לאשכנזי") חלק ונחלה בארץ הצבי וירושלם לא נחלקה לשבטים.)

R. Abraham b. R. Mordecai Halevy, the rabbinical authority quoted here, himself of the influential group of Rabbis in Cairo to whom both parties submitted their grievances, ruled in favor of the Ashkenaim, basing his decision on the conditions in which "all Ashkenazim reside in Jerusalem, and not even one city in the region of the Sephardim abroad where donations are collected supports them, no one favors them or has compassion on them, and they are solely dependent upon the charity of Ashkenazim [abroad]."<sup>181</sup> Maintaining that the very existence of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem is at stake, R. Abraham Halevy renders this picture of the intercommunal relations: "Until nowadays both [Sephardim and Ashkenazim] behave as though there existed two separate judicial authorities in the same city by which each one of them follows its own customs... and the Ashkenazim are entitled by right to observe their most rigid laws as if they actually resided in a province of Germany. This would not be the case should their community, God forbid, be abolished, for then they will be obliged by law to join the Sephardim and to follow their customs, both the permissive and the prohibiting, and against their will they will become insignificant compared to the Sephardim... It is therefore reputably believed that if Ashkenazim abroad were aware of this distress, they would assist only their Ashkenazic brethren until this affliction is passed."<sup>182</sup>

A view to the contrary was expressed a few years later — in 1707 — by R. Moses Hagiz, one of the famous Sephardic Rabbis to whom reference has already been made. While on a mission as emissary abroad, he stated the principle that

180. *Ibid.*

181. *Ibid.*

182. *Ginnath Veradim, ibid.*

Ashkenazim should share equally with the Sephardim in all taxes and expenses of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine. As a representative of the Sephardim he stated vigorously that if it were not for them (the Sephardim) the Ashkenazim would not be able to exist at all:

We virtually have a contention against them [the Ashkenazim] on behalf of the Sephardic congregations in the Holy City of Jerusalem. For in my opinion, which is that of the Torah and those who are studying it, Ashkenazim are, by virtue and law, originally obliged to share equally in all the necessary expenses of the holy community of the Sephardim, because it pays all the taxes and imposts in order that the Settlement be maintained. And if, God forbid, Sephardim were not present in the city, the Ashkenazim would not be able to exist. As for the debts previously incurred by the Ashkenazim, it was not a general debt for the needs of the city taxes, but one of a private nature as it is known to us. The truth of the matter is that the City Governor always collected the taxes from the Sephardim in our community, and it was due to the incompetence of their leaders that the Ashkenazim previously incurred their debts, while the leaders of the Sephardim discharged their duty by securing for them an extension of time to pay off their private debts. One might elaborate further on this point; I will however conclude by declaring publicly that in my just opinion, based upon our holy law, the Ashkenazic community is obliged to pay half of the debts incurred by our [Sephardic] community and that Ashkenazim abroad, who are able to do so, should carry the burden of the Sephardim in Palestine.<sup>183</sup>

According to R. Moses Ḥagiz (*Sefath Emeth*, 20b.) the annual expenditure of the Jewish community in Jerusalem amounted to 10,000 piastres, and an "equal share in it" would have been out of proportion for the then small Ashkenazic section. It seems that the Ashkenazim were even unable to meet the payment of their share of a sum of 1,000 piastres demanded by the Sephardim. In a letter from their leaders in 1717 to Rabbi David Oppenheim (to whom reference has been made above) they stress the heavier demand made on them "in order to participate in the expenses of the holy community." They describe to the famous Jewish leader in Prague, who acted as the European overseer of the Ḥalukah, the "new settlement" which they were forced to make. The

183. *Sefath Emeth* (Amsterdam, 1707), 26a.

letter is interesting in other respects as well, but we shall here quote only the passage about their complaint:

Until now we had from previous years an arrangement with our brethren of the holy community of Sephardim to participate regularly with an annual amount of no more than two hundred piastres as our share in the communal expenses. Three years ago however we were forced to make a new settlement and to pay them a thousand piastres as our annual share in the expenditure of the community. The cause being that they too were made to drink from the cup of staggering and they went downward as a consequence of sinking in the deep abyss of multiplied debts.<sup>184</sup>

The accusations against the Sephardim for withholding assistance from the Ashkenazim continued for years. Whenever a prominent Ashkenazi from Jerusalem, Tiberias or Safed happened to visit his brethren abroad, whether as emissary or otherwise, the charge was brought up. Thus, Simon de Geldern,<sup>185</sup> a brother of Heinrich Heine's grandfather, descendant of a noble Jewish family in Germany, with wanderlust in his blood, attested in 1759 before the leaders of the Ashkenaim in Amsterdam, which city he visited in the hope of finding help in his own personal troubles after he had settled in Safed:

Behold, we listened attentively to the words of reasoning coming from the learned man R. Simeon b. R. Eliezer Layzer [of] Düsseldorf who pitched his tent of Torah in the holy community of Safed contending about his diminished lot [namely, his share in the Halukah donations]. He declared furthermore that the relief for Palestine goes chiefly to the Sephardim and very little for the people [Ashkenazim] from Poland while nothing reaches the Ashkenazim from Germany proper whose number in Palestine is no more than one in a city and two in a family, although by right they should share first, and those from Poland afterwards. As for the Sephardim, they do not share their relief for Palestine with anybody else but with themselves. Therefore he [Simeon de Geldern] was compelled to take upon himself the suffering of homelessness in order to make known this state of affairs everywhere [where people are] not aware of it.<sup>186</sup>

184. Cf. Isaac Rivkind (see n. 91, above), *Reshumoth*, IV (1926), 323.

185. On him see David Kaufmann, *Aus Heinrich Heine's Ahnensaal* (Breslau, 1896), 100-160.

186. *Kitvey Kodesh Umelicoth* (כתבי קודש ומליצות), Letters of introduction by Rabbis of Palestine and Europe on behalf of Simeon de Geldern, Amsterdam [1760], 12b.

In the diary of his wanderings through the Jewish communities in Europe, Simeon de Geldern says of the relationship between these two sections: "It is agreed upon among the Sephardim in Holland and England not to assist any Ashkenazi. Cruelty indeed!"<sup>187</sup> (בהולאנד ואנגלאנד תקון בין הספרדיים שלא לסייע לשום אשכנזי אכזריות גדולה.)

It might be argued for the Sephardim that being the majority in the Jewish Settlement in Palestine — a position maintained until the middle of the nineteenth century — it was on them that the burden fell of paying the taxes to the government as well as other expenditures connected with maintaining the Yishuv. The relief and donations from abroad were insufficient and at times were irregular in arriving. As a consequence the Sephardic community frequently became indebted to various creditors to a much greater extent than did the Ashkenazim, which strained intercommunal relations even more. Thus Simeon de Geldern himself, in one of his letters of the year 1766, says of conditions prevailing in Jerusalem: "There are always [new] accusations and evil decrees. Consequently in addition to the debt of the Ashkenazim amounting to more than 50 reichstaler, the Sephardim as well are indebted to the extent of almost 200,000 fl[orins]. Whence shall they pay these debts?"<sup>188</sup>

More than once did the Sephardic leaders have to seek an answer to this distressful cry. Actually the brethren to whom they could turn for help were only the numerically smaller Sephardic community abroad, although the individual members were comparatively more prosperous than those of the Ashkenazic communities. The areas visited by their emissaries were limited chiefly to Turkey, North Africa with its Arabic-speaking Jewish settlements, and the remaining Sephardic communities in Europe (which was known as פראנקיא, 'Frankia', in the Ḥalukah parlance). If we take the account given by R. Moses Ḥagiz as correct — and there is no evidence to the contrary — the annual expenditure of the Jerusalem

187. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, 137, n. 2.

188. N. H. Torczyner, "From the Letters of Simeon de Geldern on his journeys in Palestine" (Hebrew), *Yerushalayim* (Collection of papers in memory of Abraham Moses Lunz), Jerusalem, 1928, 109.

community at the beginning of the eighteenth century amounted to 10,000 piastres against an income of 6,000 piastres (of which only 2,000 pt. came from donations abroad). Thus the community was forced each year to borrow the balance of 4,000 piastres.<sup>189</sup> In such a predicament it is understandable that the Sephardim should turn not only to their fellow Sephardim but also to the Ashkenazim in Europe.

To succeed in this, however, they had first to counteract the unfavorable impression current about their treatment of the Ashkenazim in Palestine. Denial of the accusations came in an open letter in the year 1771 signed by the Rabbis of Constantinople, supervisors of the *Ḥalukah* in that city on behalf of three Sephardic emissaries on a mission to Ashkenazic communities in Germany. In it the Rabbis emphatically declare that —

The Sephardic scholars [in Jerusalem] give their share of the donations collected for the Sephardic Talmudical academies to the Ashkenazic scholars... and the destitute among the Ashkenazim are cared for by the communal chest together with the poor among the Sephardim, as known to everyone visiting our city... and whoever makes a statement to the contrary, whether in speech or in writing, is spreading evil talk... Moreover let everyone see for himself whether it would be possible for these Ashkenazic scholars to reside in Jerusalem if not for the assistance of the Sephardic congregations. And how many expenses do the Sephardim incur because of them? Do they have a synagogue of their own to pray in, or a Talmud Torah [an elementary school] for their children, or ground for a burial place of their own? They however study in the Talmudical academies of the Sephardim, they pray in the synagogues of the Sephardim, and their children study in the Talmud Torahs of the Sephardim, and they bury [their dead] in the cemeteries of the Sephardim... And how many expenditures did the Sephardim of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days, make on account of the Ashkenazim residing there because of the previous debts incurred by them to the gentiles of the country in order to save them from their hands so that the Ashkenazim may not be harassed by the claims and false charges of their creditors?<sup>190</sup>

These impressive claims to proper conduct came in re-

189. *Sefath Emeth*, 20 b.

190. From the letter published by Abraham E. Harkavy in his חושבים וחסים No. 5 (Source Material on the History of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine), *Hayekiv*, edited by L. Rabinovitz, St. Petersburg, 1894, 29.



futation of accusations made against the Sephardim by R. Hayyim Aaron Kutover, apparently head of the small Ashkenazic group in Jerusalem, whose activities abroad were the direct cause of the Constantinople Rabbis' letter. They name him directly as a calumniator:

We have been told that one of the Jews of Poland, by the name of R. Hayyim Aaron Kutover, now residing in Jerusalem, went on the way of darkness as a so-called emissary on behalf of less than ten Jews of Poland residing in Jerusalem to collect donations for their maintenance. Now as soon as he passed through the provinces of Germany he invented words of falsehood against the Rabbis and leaders of the holy community of Sephardim in Palestine, may it be rebuilt, etc., to the effect that they rob and extort the money of the poor among the Ashkenazim denying them their share... And the rumor spread that this evil talk has succeeded... and that some communities resolved not to extend any longer their donations to any Palestinian emissary whoever he may be.<sup>191</sup>

Reiterating their refutation of his charges, the signers of the letter declare that "never has there been any division between Ashkenazim and Sephardim" and they appeal for restoration of the status quo ante, namely "to donate from the Palestine chest to the true messengers from the four cities as previously settled by our holy leaders by which the donations for Palestine be divided into twenty eight parts, eleven parts of which shall be given to the emissaries from *Jerusalem*, seven to those from *Safed*, six to *Hebron*, and four to *Tiberias*, may it be rebuilt, etc."<sup>192</sup>

It is not known if reconciliation was then achieved, but two decades later, in the year 1791, the Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine agreed to appeal jointly for donations from Germany. Details of this agreement are contained in a manuscript פנקס טבריה (The Pinkas of Tiberias) now in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. The manuscript contains letters of recommendation from the Rabbis and leaders of various Jewish communities in Germany introducing the two accredited emissaries, R. Abraham Azulai, a son of the famous Palestinian emissary and Hebrew bibliographer R. Hayyim Joseph David Azulai, and R. Asher

191. *Ibid.*

192. *Ibid.*, 31.

Ashkenazi,<sup>193</sup> both of Tiberias, and accounts of the monies collected by them. Valuable information can also be drawn from the Pinkas about the history of the Ashkenazic communities in Tiberias and Safed and their relation with the Sephardim. In the opening letter in the manuscript, signed by the leaders of the Jewish community in Breslau, we read after the customary introduction about the two emissaries:

We are moreover [informed] that the leaders of the Sephardim and Ashkenazim have joined together instead of being divided as they were heretofore. Now they made an alliance so that their tents of dwelling may become one in order to share equally from the chest of the donations provided by their brethren. [By it] moreover they will no longer be a burden upon the Jews residing in [various] countries, and they will no longer appear as two separate factions looking separately for their maintenance.<sup>194</sup>

A second letter, signed by the Rabbi of the Breslau community, emphasizes the importance of the unity thus achieved and points out that the new arrangement will noticeably reduce the cost of future missions from Palestine:

Still another novelty was added for the benefit of the Sephardim in Tiberias and all the Ashkenazim in Palestine in order to facilitate the collection of charity among the donors and to reduce the expenditures as well as to spare the trouble of wandering for the emissaries from there to here, and that is — to pass around the chest of charity on the eve of each holiday, New Year, Day of Atonement, and Purim. This will be done annually until a letter from there [Palestine] informs us as to whom this collected money should be sent.<sup>195</sup>

Satisfaction with the joint action of the Ashkenazim and Sephardim, if only for the purpose of equal partnership in Halukah,<sup>196</sup> was also expressed in a letter of recommendation

193. Presumably identical with Asher b. R. Eliezer whose signature is affixed to a messenger letter of the year 1789, published from the archives of the Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem, by I. Ben-Zvi in his paper "On the Settlement of the Ashkenazim in the Village of Peki'in" (Hebrew), *Kirjath Sepher*, III (1926/27), 305.

194. מוסק טבריה Ms. 1791 (The Pinkas of Tiberias), folio one.

195. *Ibid.*, folio five, p. one.

196. Of a similar agreement between the congregations of the Sephardim and Ashkenazim in Jerusalem in the year 1838, the former receiving one-third and the latter two-thirds of Halukah, we are informed in a document published by Isaac Rivkind, "Loose Leaves", in *Yerushalayim* dedicated to the memory of A. M. Luncz (Jerusalem, 1928), 153-156.

signed by the Rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin, R. Cadok Feivush [Phoebus], who wrote *inter alia*:

It never came to my mind that division should prevail within Israel scattered among gentiles all over the countries... True enough, we are strangers in these countries, but we all have one father and Israel is one nation on earth, brothers all, not to be divided. And it is a long time now, since the beginning of the establishment of the holy [Ashkenazic] community in Tiberias, that I have written about it. After a while however I heard evil talk by many concerning discord [among them], because of our many sins. Now, thank God, they have restored the situation to its original condition, and they have despatched two emissaries from among the Sephardim and Ashkenazim of the holy community of Tiberias, may the Lord safeguard it, and the dissension [among them] is suspended.<sup>197</sup>

Dissension was interrupted, but it did not cease to exist, and it broke out again in connection with the poll-tax levied by the Turkish government — the *ḥarāḡ*.<sup>198</sup> As the tax was levied upon the entire community, the Sephardim desired to increase the share to be paid by the Ashkenazim. The latter, on the other hand, not being Ottoman subjects, relied upon the protection and the capitulations rights of their governments, that is, Russia and Austria, which exempted their nationals from these taxes. The Ashkenazim in Safed and Tiberias therefore refused to participate in the payment of the *ḥarāḡ*.

A detailed account of the ensuing conflict in the twenties of the nineteenth century is described in several letters to Ashkenazic leaders abroad. In one, from Tiberias in 1822, the writer, an Austrian subject, tells the addressee, R. Eliezer Braunstein of the city of Czernowitz (Cernăuți), in the province of Bucovina, Rumania:

And now I will relate about... the afflictions and hardships which befell us, the people of Tiberias, in this year. After the murder of the righteous nobleman,<sup>199</sup> many God avenge his blood, the Lord send

197. *The Pinkas of Tiberias*, folio eight, p. two. See original documents, Appendix IV.

198. On *ḥarāḡ*, c. Vocabulary below, No. 214.

199. This refers to the political murder of the Jewish financial secretary Hayyim Parhi by Abdullah Pasha in 1819 in the city of Acre. For the vicissitudes of the Jewish communities of Safed and Tiberias following the death of their protector, see below, the account of Aryeh Leyb Frumkin (note 96) in Vocabulary, chapter V, 4.

forth His salvation. It happened that at that time a certain Minister [Russian Ambassador] arrived at Acre and summoned the local [Russian] Consul and instructed him that it was his duty to protect the subjects of the [Austrian] Kaiser and the Russian Czar arriving in Palestine, so that they do not pay any taxes, from which they are exempted in accordance with the accord between these Emperors and His Majesty the Sultan. As soon as the people of Safed became aware of it they applied to the Consul in Acre and registered the names of all the Ashkenazim in his records and were exempted from all taxes, whether due to the Pasha or assessments on legacies and burial payments taken from us by our brethren the Sephardim according to an ancient custom. Since then we have not heard the voice of an oppressor, only the Consul made an agreement whereby we have to pay to the Pasha eight thousand piastres annually for protecting us from enemies, enjoying otherwise all privileges.<sup>200</sup>

The Ashkenazi side was presented more strongly by the leader of the Ashkenazic community in Safed, R. Israel of Shklov, in a letter to the leading rabbinical authorities of Germany and Poland, undated, but probably written between the years 1820 and 1824. It deals specifically with the high-handedness of the Sephardim in appropriating property left by Ashkenazim without heirs or other claimants. As he was closely familiar with the situation, his accusations are impressive. "Since our very first day in the Holy Land," R. Israel of Shklov emphasizes, "we have never been given our share in the donations, and they do not even pay the taxes for us. They have taken away from the Ashkenazim all legacies as well as commission from buying houses and the income from the dowries of widowed women, which amounts to more than double all the annual taxes put together, as is clear from our open records."<sup>201</sup>

With regard to the immediate cause of the conflict, namely, the refusal of the Ashkenazim in Safed to share with the Sephardim in paying the poll tax, the letter draws attention to the agreement arranged by the Russian Consul:

Apart from the law, our congregations are now divided by a royal decree. For an important official, a Minister [Ambassador] of His

200. Ph. Friedman, "Letters from Palestine (1814-1822)" (Hebrew), *Zion*, III (1938), 272.

201. Eliezer Rivlin, "Enactments concerning Legacies in Jerusalem and Palestine" (Hebrew), *Azkara*, V: Palestine (Jerusalem, 1937), 607.

Majesty the Czar, visited our country and as a consequence of his conversation with the King [Pasha] of this land, based upon the royal accord among them prohibiting them from taking taxes from subjects of a foreign country, we were only levied with [the payment of] fifteen purses<sup>202</sup> annually for the ground of [our] houses.<sup>203</sup>

Also the Consul, on his arrival here, declared that Ashkenazim do not have to pay kharc [ḥarāg]... and in addition he confiscated seven thousand piastres which the Sephardic overseer took, through gentiles, from the Ashkenazim, and handed it over on the account of the payment of fifteen purses by them.<sup>204</sup>

The Ashkenazim of Safed therefore persisted in refusing to pay the half demanded by the Sephardim out of the hundred purses levied by the authorities.

The Ashkenazim in Tiberias, however, were not so successful. According to the writer of the letter from Tiberias referred to above, the Ashkenazim there lived in constant fear of persecution by the Sephardim because of indebtedness to them, and because of "many other hidden reasons only to be divulged by way of whispering from ear to ear".<sup>205</sup> In such a weak position, they were obliged to keep to the agreement to pay half the costs of the community. On one occasion it was taxed 50,000 piastres, only to be followed two months later with an enforced contribution three times as great. While the Ashkenazim were able to find the money for their half of the first demand, they were unable to meet the second payment. They were put in prison by the Pasha, while the Sephardim saved themselves by flight to Damascus. In the end, thanks to representations by the Ashkenazim of Safed to the Pasha of Acre, those of Tiberias were absolved from payment, but they had to pay the amount of 50,000 piastres which they owed to the Sephardim.<sup>206</sup>

A similar atmosphere of conflict between Ashkenazim and Sephardim prevailed also in Jerusalem, where its intensity did not relax during almost the whole of the nineteenth century. Even at the very beginning of the newly established Ashke-

202. A "purse" being 500 piastres, there is a discrepancy between the total of 7,500 here and the 8,000 pt. mentioned earlier.

203. Eliezer Rivlin, *op. cit.*, 607.

204. *Ibid.*, 608.

205. Ph. Friedman, *op. cit.*, 272.

206. Further details, Ph. Friedman, *op. cit.*, 273-274.

nazic community, when it was only small in size, the Sephardim objected to its claim to the benefits of the Capitulations. They were especially angered by the privileges conceded to the Ashkenazim of Safed and Tiberias. The depth of their mortification is to be seen in a letter from Jerusalem, addressed in 1823 to one of the Ashkenazic leaders, R. Solomon Pah, then on a mission in Constantinople:

Let it be known to you that the Sephardim in Jerusalem are engaged in a great quarrel with our people the Ashkenazim because of the Ashkenazic [Capitulations] affair of which they are well aware, and now they threaten, in their familiar manner to expel the Ashkenazim from Jerusalem. Therefore see to it that the firman [= grant of privileges issued by the Turkish government] shall also include Jerusalem, or, still better, secure a special firman for the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem, and do not regard it light-mindedly. The neighbors [the Sephardim] also declare they will denounce us before our eminent Ambassador [in Constantinople].<sup>207</sup>

Alarmed by the growth of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem, the Sephardim there were unwilling to relinquish control over the new arrivals. The scorn and animosity which they felt for the Ashkenazim did not diminish in any way. The atmosphere in Jerusalem Jewry was one of bitter dissension. Relevant observations, based upon his intimate knowledge of conditions, are to be found in a letter from James Finn, the British Consul, dated June 27, 1849, addressed to Nievèn Moore, British Acting Consul-General in Syria:

I have the honor to make a few observations and to state a few facts elucidatory of the general condition of the Jews in Jerusalem.

The bitter dissensions existing among the various sections of Jews in this country is scarcely conceivable.

The Sephardim (of Spanish descent and mostly Turkish subjects) regard themselves as the legal proprietors of the soil, and actually compel the Ashkenazim (those from the East of Europe) to pay a territorial tax to them for the privilege of living in the Holy Cities.

The former despise the latter, and disdain to learn their vernacular dialect or to write their alphabetical character. My official Dragoman [= interpreter] though a Rabbi and the eldest son of the third Rabbi in Jerusalem, is unable to read or write even the superscription of a letter in the Ashkenazic character.

207. Quoted by Isaac Werfel in his collection of documents on the history of the Ashkenazic Settlement in Palestine, *Sinai*, V (1939), 103.

A young Jew from Gibraltar lately introduced to me by some relatives, exclaimed — "What a *canalla* of Jews you have got here in Jerusalem!"...

One of the principal Ashkenazim has implored me not to deliver any letters for him or his friends (especially such as come from Sir M. Montefiore) into the hands of any of the Sephardim as they would infallibly be opened by the Chief Rabbi always a Sephardi, under Turkish law.

The Ashkenazim Trustees of a certain property lately pleaded concerning a particular document of obligation to the Amzalag family (Sephardi) that they had not signed it, because from the very first, they had intended to cease to pay it, when convenient to cease...

An African Jew under British protection being about to proceed to Morocco to collect alms for Jerusalem, procured by my means, a Khayali (one of the irregular Cavalry) to escort him to Jaffa, he being under a firm conviction, that otherwise the Sephardim would procure his assassination by the way, for daring to go without their leave.

Such instances shew the deplorable state of Jews in Jerusalem, and this is mainly produced by their pauperized dependence on the nations of Europe for support — as the receipt and distribution of such funds is a fruitful source of discord.<sup>208</sup>

On another occasion, forwarding a petition (dated July 13, 1854) from the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem to Lord Stratford de Radcliffe, British Ambassador in Constantinople, requesting him to intervene with the Turkish authorities for the restoration of the old Ashkenazic synagogue (so-called *Hurvah*), James Finn writes:

It is a sad circumstance that these numerous people, above 2,000 souls, have not even one synagogue in Jerusalem — for although the Sephardim Jews (being mostly Orientals and Turkish subjects) have Synagogues, they have their ritual books and their pronunciation of Hebrew different from these: besides there is always a considerable amount of bickering existing between the two Sects.<sup>209</sup>

The cleavage between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Jerusalem was further widened in a protracted quarrel over the right of ritual slaughtering (*Shehitah*), which was denied to the former. In accordance with an ancient firman the Sephardim exercised a full monopoly over *Shehitah* and the sale of kosher

208. Hyamson, I, 127-128.

209. Hyamson, I, 225-226.

meat,<sup>210</sup> a monopoly which they jealously held on to for the special tax, the gabella,<sup>211</sup> on kosher meat, which was a source of revenue for the Sephardic community. The Sephardim also had a standing agreement with the Muslims who provided the cattle to sell to them the parts of the slaughtered animals ritually forbidden to Jews, and also any other meat that became "unclean" and so not allowed to be eaten. The Ashkenazim were unable to obtain the right of slaughtering and selling their own meat separately and were forced to submit to the conditions imposed by the Sephardim and to pay exorbitant prices for their kosher meat.

In 1853 and again in 1862 attempts were made by the Ashkenazim to obtain relief by setting up slaughtering of their own, but without success. They petitioned Consul James Finn, who in turn requested the official assistance of Sir H. L. Bulwer, the British Ambassador in Constantinople. His letter, dated May 22, 1862, is interesting enough to be quoted in full:

The immediate object in the present Petition is the removal of a very serious grievance.

By Jewish law it is prohibited to use every part of the animals slaughtered for human food... the Moslems are always willing to buy those portions of them not taken by the Jews — and for this purpose the Sephardim are in possession of ancient Firmans — having these, they have established a monopoly for the exclusive sale of Jewish meat, which is always farmed by one of their people, — and the Moslems are told that the Ashkenazim are not Israelites — the corrupt Effendis of the Mejlis [=City Council] are also persuaded and bribed into the same belief.

The Heads of the Spanish Jews realize a sum, as I am informed, of not less than forty thousand piastres annually, by disposing to one of their own community, of this license to sell Jewish meat — and the Ashkenazim complain that most of this sum comes out of their pockets, they being the largest consumers — while on the other hand, the meat of the best quality is given to the Spanish buyers.

Above all — Jewish meat is sold by the monopolists at an exorbitantly high rate, whereby the poor are very seriously injured.

In the year 1853 an attempt was made by the Ashkenazim to slaughter their own food, by their own authorized Rabbis — but as the Moslems refused to purchase the remaining parts of each animal — (even the Mejlis refused when called on, to give a declaration that the

210. Meat properly slaughtered and prepared according to the Jewish ritual laws.

211. On this tax see Vocabulary below, No. 220.



Ashkenizim are really Jews) — it was found necessary to throw away the latter upon the dunghills, and such a ruinous waste of money could not be continued.

It is to provide a remedy against this conduct of the Sephardim Jews, and the consequent suffering of the poor of the Ashkenazim, that the latter make this application, which I now forward to Your Excellency.

It is important to observe that in Constantinople, as well as in other large cities of the Turkish Empire, and in all other countries, the Ashkenazim equally with the Sephardim, are entitled to slaughter their own animal food under the common name of Israelites.<sup>212</sup>

Still another petition to the same effect was forwarded by the next British Consul, Noel Temple Moore, in a letter of March 19th, 1867. Among other matters he informed Lord Lyons, who held the post of Ambassador in the years 1865-1867, that:

About a fortnight ago, the Ashkenazim addressed to me and to my Prussian and Austrian colleagues, as their protecting Consuls, collective memorials complaining of a heavy overcharge in the price of the meat sold to them by their native co-religionists, which put this important article of food beyond the reach of the poor of their community — numbering several thousand souls, of which the great majority come under that category — and praying us to provide a remedy by obtaining for them the power of slaughtering and selling their own meat separately.<sup>213</sup>

Although the Governor of Jerusalem, Izzet Pasha, paid "immediate attention" to and took "prompt action" in this matter, no conclusive results were achieved, and the Ashkenazim had to suffer for several years longer. Of their sufferings we are told in the detailed account by Yehoshua Yellin, a resident of Jerusalem for many years, in his highly interesting reminiscences which cover a period of eighty four years (from 1834 to 1918):

More than anybody else, the Ashkenazim have been the greatest sufferers. It was because the Sephardim envied them seeing how they were being supported by their people from abroad with the donations of *Ḥalukah*... Hence their hatred against the Ashkenazim was intense, and having a strong arm over the sale of meat they inflicted pain upon them in the selling of meat, both in quality and in quantity.

212. *Hyamson*, II, 297-298.

213. *Ibid.*, 343.

Just imagine! only one store in the whole of Jerusalem was available for selling meat, its door was shut to the customers and it was opened only for the few chosen ones from among the Sephardim to whom the choicest cuts were given as soon as they entered. The rest of the customers, and especially the Ashkenazim, were forced to stand squeezed together at the window near the door and to shout: give me two oncies [a measure of weight], give me four oncies, and the like. And at the window, inside, the lease-holder was sitting on a bench, unmoved, listening indifferently to their shouting as if he would not hear them at all, and at his side, the butcher, standing, was cutting and weighing the parts, placing them before the lease-holder who would then choose the best cuts handing them over first to the Sephardim or to the one who gave a large backsheesh to the butcher.<sup>214</sup>

This was the situation that prevailed in Jerusalem in the seventies of the nineteenth century. The Ashkenazim already constituted a majority in the Jewish community and they were no longer prepared to accept the arbitrary domination of the Sephardim and their "overseers". They began to demand their rights as a community, and in this they were supported by the various protecting European powers. They had also come to see the outstretched hands of the Turkish officials and they learned how they might secure an attentive ear by placing suitable baksheesh in those hands. In the year 1874 the right to their own ritual slaughtering of animals was granted. From then on the Ashkenazim were able to fulfill the Talmudical precept, (in Hullin, 1 : 1) applicable to all Jews: "All who are skilled in the rules prescribed for slaughtering may slaughter and what they slaughter is proper within the dietary laws."

Thus this and other issues in the protracted conflict between the Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine disappeared: They remained distinct groups, however, between whom animosity continued to be felt for a long time after, as attested in various expressions and usages of daily life.<sup>215</sup> But time blunted the sharp edges, and in the course of time the marked differences between these ethnic groups of com-

214. Yehoshua Yellin, זכרונות לבכירי ירושלים (Reminiscences of a Jerusalemite), Jerusalem, 1924, 100-101.

215. Additional details of the intercommunal relations of Ashkenazim and Sephardim, based on linguistic material, are presented in the Vocabulary, chapter VI, 1.

mon origin became weakened in the cultural, political and economic processes of the creation of a Jewish national life in Palestine.

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In this chapter in the history of the Old Ashkenazic community in Palestine we have seen first the struggle of a weak group of immigrants in their earliest efforts to take root in the land of their forefathers, and then the vicissitudes of a slowly growing social organism. The picture of development drawn here is not a complete one, since much information is lacking, but it is, the writer hopes, essentially true within its limits. An attempt has been made to place the facts within the context of the larger situation as it existed at the time. The account may sometimes seem to be one-sided, particularly in the last part, about communal strife. The treatment was conditioned, however, by the material available to the writer. A complete history of the Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine, is, of course, yet to be written.

The acculturation of the Ashkenazim to the Arabic scene of Palestine, is the subject of the following, the second part of this study.

PART TWO

ARABIC ELEMENTS IN THE YIDDISH LANGUAGE  
OF THE ASHKENAZIM IN PALESTINE



## CHAPTER I

THE OLD ASHKENAZIC COMMUNITY BECOMES  
ACQUAINTED WITH THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

## (AN HISTORICAL REVIEW)

In Part One of this study we surveyed the migratory movements of Ashkenazim to Palestine and the establishment of their community as a distinct element in the ethnic composition of the Jewish population of the country. In the following section we shall consider the penetration of the Arabic language into the daily life of the community, as seen in certain available material.

As each group of Ashkenazim entered the country it came into contact with three main languages: *Arabic* — spoken by the Arab population; *Turkish* — the language of government and administration since the conquest by the Ottoman Turks in the year 1515 under Sultan Selim I; and *Ladino*<sup>1</sup> (or *Španiolish*, also known among the Ashkenazim as *Frenkish*) — the spoken language of the Sephardic Jews.<sup>2</sup>

1. In English and in the international terminology of linguistics the term "Judæo-Spanish" is used. The Sephardim call their language *Judesmo* (ג'ודסמו) = "Jewish", and when translating from the Hebrew, they call it *Ladino* (לאדינו) = Lat. *latinum*, and the process of translating — *Enladinar* (אֵנְלַאדִינאַר). Cf. Salomon A. Rosanes, *A History of the Jews in Turkey* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, 1930, I, 282.

For its linguistic characteristics, see especially, M. L. Wagner, *Beiträge zur Erkenntnis des Judenspanischen von Konstantinopel*, in *Schriften der Balkankommission*, IX, *Romanische Dialektstudien*, Heft III (Wien 1914). M. A. Luria, "Study of the Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish", *Revue Hispanique*, LXXIX (1930), 232-583. Dr. S[olomon] Birnbaum, "Džudezme", the language of the Sephardic Jews, (Yiddish), *Yivo Bleter*, XI (1937), 192-193. Professor L[eo] Spitzer, "The Origin of the Judeo-Romance Languages", (Yiddish), *Yivo Bleter*, XIV (1939), 193-208.

2. R. Gedalye Semyatitsher, who lived in Jerusalem 1699-1706, testifies to the use of these three languages as follows: "The Jews there speak the Sephardic language, the Arabs speak in the Aramean tongue

With each of these languages the Ashkenazim came into daily contact, with the result that elements of all of them penetrated into the Yiddish spoken by the Ashkenazim. These elements and loan-words are so interwoven into the Ashkenazic Yiddish of Palestine that they are now hardly to be recognized as foreign.

On the basis of daily observation and the materials collected by me and presented herewith, we may safely conclude that it was *Arabic* that exerted the greatest influence upon Yiddish in Palestine, not *Ladino*, although the latter was the language of a closely related religious and ethnic group. The preponderance of the Arabic elements over those of *Ladino* and Turkish testifies to the close *economic* ties between Ashkenazim and the Arabs. If one lends an attentive ear to the daily spoken language, he may conclude without hesitation that in Palestine the Arabic elements have taken the place that is filled by *Slavic* elements in the Yiddish of Eastern Europe. They are even to be found in the popular literature and the Yiddish periodicals published at times in Palestine.<sup>3</sup>

Loan-words result from one or more factors: political (e.g. foreign occupation or colonization), economic (trade, peaceful settlement), and cultural (here philologists and lexicographers may bring their disciplines to bear). How they make their way into a language, whether through direct borrowing or in some indirect way, varies considerably. This can be seen in connection with the considerable number of Arabic words which found their way into the Romance languages. In *Spanish*, they penetrated after the Muslim invasion of the year 711, when the language was in the process of formation, and they remained as part of the Moorish heritage, which was not to be erased even after the Christian reconquest in 1492.

[i.e. Arabic] and the Ishma'elites [i.e., the Turks] — the tongue of Ishma'el [= Turkish]." *Saalu Selom Yerušalaim, Rešumoth*, II, 470.

About 125 years later, a similar observation is made by R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenicer: "These three languages are there in use: first, the language of the Ishma'elites; second [the language of] (Portugal) which is spoken by the Jews called (Frenken), and third — Arabic. This language is spoken in all transactions by townspeople and city people alike." (*Sefer Korot Ha'ittim*, Jerusalem edition, 13a')

3. I hope to publish a bibliography of Yiddish popular literature in Palestine, which I have already compiled from the material in my own collection and that in the National and University Library, Jerusalem.

Into *Portuguese* came a number of oriental words from the colonies in India, East Africa and the further East; while Arabic words survived from the Muslim occupation of Portugal.<sup>4</sup> These are all examples of political influence.

On the other hand, the loan-words in Dutch,<sup>5</sup> English,<sup>6</sup> German,<sup>7</sup> and the Slavic languages,<sup>8</sup> are part of the great Arab cultural influence on medieval Europe.

The penetration of Arabic elements into the Yiddish language of the Old Ashkenazic community in Palestine was mainly *economic* in nature. In its socio-economic structure the Old Ashkenazic "Yishuv" had more the character of a *recipient* and *consumer*, rather than that of *producer*. For his physical requirements the Ashkenazi Jew had to turn to the Arab population. Arab fellahin of the nearby villages provided him with their produce — food, vegetables and fruit. The houses to dwell in were built by Arab workers. The stone for them, this being the main building material, was hewn by Arab quarry-men and fashioned by Arab masons. In the house and kitchen the vessels and utensils came from Arab coppersmiths or Arab potters. And when the Ashkenazi travelled between Jerusalem and Jaffa or Hebron or further, he had to use the services of an Arab "muqeir", donkey-driver or camel-driver, or of an Arab coachman. For a considerable period the Old "Yishuv" lacked those more productive elements without which a society does not have a normal economic structure. No wonder then that the Arabic elements of language and expressions which penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish reflect

4. Cf. Dozy-Engelman, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais derives de l'Arabe* (Leiden, 1869).

5. See especially R. Dozy, *Oosterlingen, Verklarende Lijst der Nederlandsche Woorden, die Uithet Arabisch... Perzisch en Turksch afkomstig zijn* (S'Gravenhage, 1867).

6. Walt, Taylor, *Arabic Words in English* (S.P.E. Tract XXXVIII) (Oxford, 1933) 555-600. I was unable to obtain the publication and I note it via a review in: University of Egypt, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, II, Part I, May, 1934 (Cairo), 16.

7. S. Fraenkel, "Orientalische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache", in *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*. (Breslau, Jahrg. 1895/96), [Vol. I], Heft II, No. 1, 3-10. Enno Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen* (Berlin, 1920), 19-35. There is also a later edition, (Tübingen, 1924).

8. The best account for Polish is given by A. Brückner, "Elementy wschodnie w języku Polskim", in: *Encyklopedia Polska Akademii Umiejętności*, Tom II, 100-153.



for a time the *unproductive* structure of this "Yishuv". And they remained in daily use even after members of the Ashkenazic community acquired their own skills and trades; and even then Arab "mu'allims" were the teachers.

In all his daily contact with the Arabs, the Ashkenazi Jew was a keen observer of the formers' way of life, religion, customs and even superstitions. As a result, words and sayings, metaphors and similes, from that strange domain were taken over, reflecting, again, the inter-communal relations of these two different ethnic groups.

The process of penetration of Arabic elements into Palestinian Yiddish was, of course, of a slow nature, running parallel with the migration of the Ashkenazim and subsequent growth of the Yishuv. It is interesting in this connection to read an account, written in 1650 by Moshe Porges (or Preger) in his *Darke Zion* (*Ways of Zion*), of an itinerary in which he describes the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem:

Some Sephardic Jews own shops and stores, full of all kinds for sale... Only we, Ashkenazim, do not know the languages to converse with various people, and we, Ashkenazim, are therefore unable to trade [with them].<sup>9</sup>

This inability, which he considers a serious handicap, is again stressed, when he writes:

At two o'clock in the morning they [the watchmen] strike again... indicating that everyone is permitted to walk the streets. But we, Ashkenazim, do not dare to walk, because we do not know the languages and we are unable to answer whenever we happen to meet someone.<sup>10</sup>

Consequently he warns his readers:

Let no one make up his mind that he is going to gain large profits while carrying on business in Jerusalem. The reason against it is that at all times he has to know three different languages: 'španyoliš, rapiš [= Arabiš = Arabic], tirkliš [= Turkish]'.<sup>11</sup>

9. *Darke Zion* (Yiddish), (Prague?, 1650), 9.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 3.

That the Ashkenazim were hindered by their ignorance of the Arabic language from carrying on trade with their neighbors, is seen again in a description of the situation written at the end of the 17th century by R. Gedalye Semyatitsher, who arrived at Jerusalem in 1699 as a member of the famous group led by R. Yehuda, "the pious" (Heḥasid). He stayed there until in the year 1706 he left Palestine, and on his way abroad published in Berlin, 1717, his little book, *Šaalu Šelom Yerušalaim* (*Inquire about Jerusalem*). There we read that:

Ashkenazim who live there do not carry on any trade whatsoever on account of [not knowing] the language. It is because Jews speak 'bilešon Sephardim' [= Ladino] while the Arabs talk the Aramaic language and the Turks speak 'bilešon Yišma'el' [= Turkish]. And not one of them is acquainted 'bilešon Aškenas' [= Yiddish].<sup>12</sup>

Thus the Ashkenazim suffered doubly, being strangers in language not only to the Arabs but also to their Sephardic brethren. Here R. Gedalye compares them to the Moghrebi (Moroccan) Jews, who struggle along barely making a living, their knowledge of Arabic notwithstanding:

There are some Jews called Moghrebi, or Moriscos, as they call themselves, and they too speak the Aramaic language [= Arabic] and are dressed almost like Arabs... In the villages they buy wheat and barley and other kinds of food, which they bring to Jerusalem for sale. That is their livelihood, but all of them are poor. Now, if this, then, is the fate of those who know the language of the Gentiles (לשון עכ"ם), what shall we Ashkenazim do, not knowing their language? We are among them like the mute who is speechless and like one who does not understand their language. We are strangers, not admitted among Jews<sup>13</sup> and more so among the nations [i.e. the non-Jewish neighbors, viz. the Arabs]. And when we buy some food from an Arab in the market, he gesticulates with the fingers. We answer in like manner by hinting to him, and they make a laughing-stock out of us. How then shall we carry on trade to maintain ourselves and our children?<sup>14</sup>

12. *Šaalu Šelom Yerušalaim, Reshumoth*, II, 470.

13. The writer here makes an allusion to the Talmudic expression, גרים גורמים ('Abodah Zara, 3b), converts not formally admitted to Judaism.

14. *Reshumoth*, II, 471. He therefore admonishes the "Gabaei Erec Israel", the collectors of charities in Poland designed for the poor Jews in Palestine, not to distribute the money among "those preachers and cantors who wander from town to town to maintain themselves", but

Of language in general in Jerusalem, R. Gedalye says: "The majority do not understand Turkish, but Arabic",<sup>15</sup> which he believes to be "a corrupted Aramaic":

The Arabs speak their Aramaic language which is none other than Targum, but their language is corrupted for they do not speak it in accordance with the manner written in the Targum. And that is why even a scholar would find it difficult to understand, and also because they speak their language hurriedly. Nevertheless a scholar is able to acquire the most necessary words when he wishes, for instance, to buy something in the market, or the like.<sup>16</sup>

That was true of R. Gedalye, himself a learned man, whose narrative is written in a lucid and idiomatic Hebrew, with some slight coloring from the daily spoken Yiddish language. During his stay of six years in Jerusalem, he apparently succeeded in acquiring some knowledge of Arabic and of expressions in daily use. Some of these he notes down, for the sake of accuracy, in his account, although it was written for Jewish readers outside Palestine. A few of the words are titles of functionaries, viz.: *pasha*,<sup>17</sup> *naib*,<sup>18</sup> *qadi*.<sup>19</sup> Some are words in ordinary daily use, e.g. *bakalut* (i.e. *bakālat*, food made of flour, dates, oil, etc.),<sup>20</sup> *sumsum*<sup>21</sup> and *moye*.<sup>22</sup>

That this ignorance of Arabic prevailed during the earliest years of the Ashkenazic "Yishuv" in Palestine, when it was

rather to provide for the Ashkenazic "Sons of Zion", who are unable to care for themselves, because "we do not have money, and we do not have the language." (*Ibid.*, 491.)

15. *Ibid.*, 491.

16. *Reshumoth*, II, 476.

17. "And each year a certain Turkish official arrives, sent by the King of Turkey... and these officials are called *pasha* in Palestine." *Ibid.*, 469.

18. R. Gedalye spells erroneously "naqlb": "The truth of the matter is, that with the exception of one official called there *naq'b*, not all Jerusalem people have revolted against [the mighty chief]." *Ibid.*, 488.

19. "... The judge of the Turks... whom they call in their language *qadi*." *Ibid.*, 477.

20. "... There are stores of food which are called in Arabic *baklut* because of the groceries they sell." *Ibid.*, 471.

"Bakaley", "bakaleyne kleyt" and "bakaleynik" for grocery wares, grocery and grocer respectively are popular words in Yiddish. (*Harkavy, Dictionary*, 108).

21. "There is an abundance of sesame-oil... and the Arabs in Palestine call the seeds [thereof] *sumsum*." *Ibid.*, 473.

22. "Every day the water-carriers walk the streets carrying water and shouting in Arabic '*moye! moye!*' as the translation of water (מים) is *moye*." (*Ibid.*, 476).

making its first steps towards permanent settlement, is to be seen in the references to it to be found in the correspondence of those years. Thus we read in a letter of the year 1778, written by *R. Israel (Yisroel) Polotzker*, who, with *R. Menaḥem-Mendl Vitebsker*, settled in Safed as head of a group of three hundred Hasidim, that:

One is unable to estimate the size of the population of the holy city of Safed. The area is extensive and it is possible to support oneself, *but we are not acquainted with the language and the customs of the country.*<sup>23</sup>

A similar remark is made, in 1810, in a letter by one of the disciples of the famous Gaon of Vilno, residing in Safed: "It is still difficult to earn a living as one is used to abroad, on account of the hindrance of language, and we are, consequently, strangers in the country."<sup>24</sup> And another disciple, *R. Ḥayyim b. R. Tobiah (Tevye) Katz*, of the city of Vilno, emphasizes that "It is my duty to inform you, that the Sephardim provide for themselves by grocery stores... but Ashkenazim do not have their livelihood because of the hindrance of language."<sup>25</sup>

Similar conditions are found during the first years of the establishment of the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem. In a letter, written between 1820 and 1824, by *R. Israel mi-Shklov*, one of its founders, we have almost the same words:

The majority of the Sephardim provide for themselves through grocery stores, dealing with the fellahin, [by keeping] domesticated animals, [by taking care of] wayfarers, and from interest arising from lending money. As for us Ashkenazim, the Biblical saying, "He hath made me dwell in dark places" [Lament. 3:6] was fulfilled. For we do not know the language, and we are all broken paupers.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, exceptions existed. We find now and then Ashkenazic Jews who acquired Arabic through direct contact

23. *Yerushalaim*, ed. by A. M. Luncz, V, 168.

24. *Igroth Eretz Israel (Epistles from Palestine)*, ed. by Abraham Ya'ari (Tel Aviv, 1943), 331.

25. *Ibid.*, 339.

26. "Enactments concerning Legacies in Jerusalem and Palestine", (Hebrew), published by Eliezer Rivlin in *Azkarah*, Part V: Palestine (Jerusalem, 1937), 605. (Also, reprint, p. 49).

with Arabs. Our information about this comes chiefly from Safed, the city where the earliest Ashkenazic community was established. Thus we read in an entry of the year 1768, in 'Ahavat Ciyyon'<sup>27</sup>: "And R. Leyb told me that he went together with the above-mentioned R. Shmuel [Samuel, who came from the city of Hrubieshov, Poland], *who knows the Arabic language.*"<sup>28</sup>

As we approach the 19th century, when the Ashkenazic Settlement was gradually expanding, we find knowledge of Arabic among its members increasing, as may be seen from records. R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenicer, who settled in Safed, was witness of the plunder (known then among Jews as "rabunek" = robbery) of the local Jewish community by the fanatical Muslim Arabs during their general revolt against Muḥammad 'Alī, Governor of Egypt, Palestine and Syria. The Jews all fled to near-by villages for safety. After relating these events, the account, written in 1833, continues:

As soon as daylight broke, we sent from among us several people into town to learn about the events there. Among them were R. Leyb Cohen and R. Sholem [Shalom] Khayet [the tailor] *for they understood Arabic well and spoke it fluently.* The same R. Sholem has many acquaintances among the Arabs, for whom he used to tailor garments.<sup>29</sup>

R. Sholem rendered useful service to the small Jewish community, and the writer emphasizes again, that "Also the aged R. Sholem went along, for *he was well versed in their language [=Arabic]*",<sup>30</sup> which he acquired by contact with his Arab customers."

In a letter from Jerusalem, dated 24th Adar, 5595 [1835], we are informed of another Ashkenazi Jew who knew Arabic:

... And I have also convinced myself, that in case I will proceed to the city of Sidon to bring my wife — blessed be she for a long and happy life, Amen! — and the rest of my family — may the Lord

27. By R. Simḥa b. R. Yehoshu'a, of the city of Zalozitz, Poland, who visited Palestine in the same year; died 1768 in the city of Białystok, Russia. His book, 64 pp., was published in Grodno, no date.

28. *Ibid.*, 33.

29. *Sefer Koroṯ ha-Ittim*, (Warsaw, 1841), 6b-7a.

30. *Ibid.*, 8a.

watch over them and safeguard them — I would not be able to go there by myself. It is because I am not familiar with the highways, I am unable to ride a horse and [I do not know] the Arabic language, a little of which is at least necessary for a wayfarer, and especially [for one who is journeying] with his family. Consequently I decided upon despatching an honest and God-fearing Jew who came with me from Safed — may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own day, Amen! <sup>31</sup> — the learned man, R. Shmuel of Vilno — may his light shine, and may the Lord safeguard him — who is familiar with the requirements mentioned above and knows a little Arabic... For he came to the holy community of Safed — may it be rebuilt, etc. — together with his father while still a child, and that is how he learned to speak some Arabic. <sup>32</sup>

The writer of this letter, R. Eliezer Bergman, who migrated with his family from the village of *Zel*, near Würzburg, Germany, and arrived in Palestine in 1834, informed his relatives in an earlier communication, dated Adar 21, of the need for skilled artisans in the country. After enumerating the trades, he adds:

It would be desirable for them to know at least how to speak some Italian, which is related to the Spanyol language of the majority of the Sephardim here — may God watch over them and safeguard them — which is understood by the Gentiles as well. It is also possible that in not too long a time they will be able to learn Arabic. <sup>33</sup>

To help acquire Arabic “in not too long a time” the often mentioned R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenitzer, appended to his *Koroth ha-Ittim li[Ye]shurun b'Erec Yisrael* a vocabulary of “the most useful” Arabic words. As being of interest to the reader of our day, the vocabulary is reproduced herewith in its Yiddish translation with the parallel Hebrew text, followed by an English translation.

31. The Hebrew abbreviation for it being תבנה ותכונן במהרה = חובב"א בימינו, אמן!

32. Abraham A. Bergman, “German-Jewish Settlers in Palestine a Century Ago”, (Hebrew), published in the daily newspaper *Haaretz*, (Tel Aviv), March 30, 1934.

33. *Ibid.*

20

אח' פיל זען זאגט בטענה טאג' אונטערזוכן האט זיך דאסן און פיל גווייזט  
ביז זיך האט דאסן אפילו גאטן זיין זיילינג מין פֿעלד מיליט גוטען קיין  
זאמער פֿרילי טוהן וואס'מען דארף זיין דורך זיין נס געבן גווארן  
דער שטיין זיט וואסער, נאכדעם האט מען דעם שטיין גלייבט מיליט דעם  
קבר, נאכדעם דר ביא זעהט מען זיין גרויסן שטיין זאגט מען אז מיליט דעם  
שטיין מיליט געבן מיליט הנביא זיך :

**טבריא** בין איד גוועזן איס זיינע הויז גייר'ן זי האטלן זיין אויף ריא קבר'ן לויקס וואס דארטן נלהנט פֿון טטאט ליגט דער ראז'יט אונד דר טליה הקדוש ו'ל דר ביי ליגט דער תנא ר' יוחנן בן זכאי איס פֿילן זיינע תלמידים, לעבן בארג יטאון ליגט רב כהנא איס זיינע תלמידים אין דיר כוכין דיר לעביר וואס אין דיר ווענט פֿון מערה, נלהנט פֿון דעם קוואל היי פֿבריא ליגט ר' חזיר בעל הנס דער גילעלט וואס גווען אויף זיין קבר איז לעת עתה חרוב אונד אין אלי בתי מדרשים פֿון ארץ יטראל ברענט זיין פֿון וועגן זיין נטאה אונד אז מען טטייט לעבין זיין קבר זעהט מען דיר בערג טייני וואס אויף יענר וייט פֿון ים כנרת, פֿון דארט ועגן היי גאנגן זי דען קבר פֿון ר' עקיבא איס זיינע פֿירנאלאנדי טוונד תלמידים אויף זיין בארג ריע ליגט אפֿין טפֿיל בארג אונד די תלמידים ועגן זי טמרייט אפֿין בארג, עס גפֿינט זיך דארטן אלבֿות דרום איז זי דר קעגן אז עס איז קבר'ס, אין דארף טוונד בין איד גווען לנס קבר פֿון נחמס זיט גט וו, בלירן בין איד גווען אפֿין קבר פֿון זכאון דר וון פֿון יעקב אין חלד פֿון איין יטאמאל האב איד איס געגבן פֿיער פֿלעטס כרי ערואל איד אהין לאזן איס אין הויז גייר'ן האטלן זיין דארטן בטעת איד בין גאנגן קיין לירון האט מענער גוויין דעם ארט וואס גטסאכן איז די טפֿוב פֿון אטה לנפֿית'ת וואס אליהו הנביא איז זי זיט גקואן, ער ווא קואן במערה אז זייר וואלן זיך טוין מערה ניט טעאן :

דיא שפראך פון ערבית

**לדודיע** לו האצן וויסן עטוואס פון דיא ספראך וואס דר אנהא מיז לו  
רעדן ביא די ימאנאליס רען ויא ריידן אים דרייא ספראך  
זי דיא ספראך פון יטאעאל, ב' פארסיגאל, דיא ספראך ריידן די יהודים  
וואס הייסן פֿרענקן. ג' דיא ספראך פון ערבית דיא ספראך ריידן אלי אעטל  
הן דארף וייט דאסאל לייס אין אלי זייער האנדלן: אונז און אזי דער אטא  
וואי וייט זיין :

אֵתֶר. הָגוֹן. חֵלְמָה. עֵץ. תְּמָרָה. שִׁיחָה. שִׁבְעָה. תְּמָרִים. חֵלְמָה. עֵץ.

A page from *Sepher Koroṯh Ha'ittim*  
(Warsaw, 1841) by R. Menahem Mendl  
Kamenitzer, with an Arabic word-list

## קורות העתים

עלמה. אהרעש. חנהאש. חלחאש. ארבעתאש. חששתאש. שחאש.  
שבעתאש. חמשתאש. תשעתאש. עשרין. אחד עשרין. תנן עשרין. וכו'.  
חלח. ארבעין. חמשים. שיתין. שבעין. חמסין. חשעין. מאה. אלה.  
כלך וועלן אדר טרייבן פיל ווערנר פון לטון ערביה וואס מער נייטיג איז,  
ירמליס רופן ויז עיר קודש. תברין תבראן. שבס גאבלאס. צפת פאפאט.  
מבריא מבריא. אז ער פערענט אויף טונס וואנטאען פה שלטי פערסער ער שלס  
אז ער פערענט אויף רעס. אקא וואנט ער ברש הרב עמן רי טחנתא פתח בבא.  
זו פאר אמן פנר אלכב. מפרט טווערט וואס ער עלי ראסקבלוס של ראשי,  
דערער חיי עוני. כלומר חיי עניו. געלט הייסט מעסארי. און אז ער בעט  
גער וואנט ער היי מעסארי. אויף חיי אש וואנט מען בעט. באציל לובל  
פיוזן ריח וואנט צאח אז ביאמיל, קריר חיי טאס, מידה וואסער, פחזן  
מעל, תוכיה ברעט לחפה אז פלייט פעמאק פוט ענב וויינטרוב חיי פיוזן  
פופות עפיל אלאס בארנעס ליפת מערין, איד יא וואס מען פייב אויף חיי  
וואס מען לא. לאבאד לו דרוסן פאפאן אז גאייט חיי סוף:

**לרודיע** לו אצין וויסן חיי ביסל פון ריח אהנהג פון ריח יהודים ריח  
ספרדים וואס הייסן פערענקען לויטן ויך ריידען ויז דאספארק  
פון פורטנאל און ויז ויז קעלען לים אום ריידען און פורטנאל דארעט ער  
אויף לטון הקודש. ויז האבן ליבתורה, און וינען אצבר ריח לואריק וואס מען  
רופט חכם אז וואס ער וואנט פאלגט מען חיס ויז האלטן ריח אלוה פון  
הכנסת לורחיס מיט אונז ויין ויז ניד אוד וחתן און וייער לערנען אז  
גאר רי' תוספות און ויז ביי אונז, און אלי פוסקים, און ויז ספקין אלץ  
וויז רר בית יוסף. אזי ערב כבה וואטין וי דעם פנים הענט און פיס אים  
ווארר וואסער וו ויז דער אנהג פון דען תנא ר' יהודה ב"ר לעפטי ויל ריח  
וויבר בטעה ויז ווען פהור פארבין ויז רי אונז און ריח כעגלעס, אונז רי  
קעסל אז גלירס אים חיי קאסילוס און חיי גאזע חיי ראלץ אויף ויז ריח ווייבר  
פון כדרות, אדרי טראגין אופין טערין חיי בלעך פארגלד אדר וילבער,  
רוד אז גאזעס חיי טאט, גם ויז וילן תאיר חיי טאוב און חיי גאס האבן  
וי קיין גטעט נים און אלץ וואס מען רארץ קופין חיי גאס קופין ריח אונען  
פון קליין ביו גרוס, דער אנהג פון אונס פארטונען אידן טראגין. תאיר חיי  
טאד טווארלי קרעלין הונדערס און דרייסיג קרעלין קענין הונדערס און פנציג  
אז אליה הנביל זיל אז תאיר דרייט ער עס חיי האנד, גם ריח אונס  
פארטונען

The following page of *Sepher Korothe Ha'ittim*  
with the Arabic word-list concluded



לשון ערבית  
להודיע קצת מהלשון שנוהגים  
לדבר שמה בין הישמע  
אלים בג' לשונות נוהגים  
לדבר שם א' שפת ישמעאלים  
ב' (פארטוגאל) מדברים בו  
היהודים הנקראים (פרינקען)  
ג' הוא ערבית ובלשון זה  
מדברים בו כולם הן בני  
הכפרים הן בני העיירות בכל  
מסחר, וזה לשון מספרם:

[המספרים והמלים הערביות הנזכרות  
להלן מנוקדים לפי ביטויים בערבית  
המדוברת.]

עוד קצת אכתוב מלשון ערבית  
הנצרך יותר.  
ירושלים נקרא בלשונם עיר קודש.  
חברון חבראן. שכם נאב-  
לאט. צפת סאפאת. טבריה טבער-  
יא. השואל בשלום חבירו אומר  
על המקח אומר כדש הדא. כגון  
מה שלמי עונה לו שלם. והשואל  
לפתוח הדלת אפתח בבא. לסגור  
סגר אלבב. הנשבע אומר עלי  
ראסק. ר"ל על ראשי. או חיי  
עוני ר"ל חיי עיניו; ועל  
מעות אומר מעסארי. וכשאומר  
ליתן לו מעות אומר הטי מע-  
סארי. בעם היינו ביצה. בא-  
ציל היינו בצלים. מיוזן היינו  
משקל. זאת היינו שמן זית.  
קדיר היינו קדרה. מויה היינו  
מים. טחין היינו קמח. חובזה  
היינו לחם. לחמה היינו בשר.  
סעמק היינו דגים. ענב היינו

דיא שפראך פון ערבית  
להודיע צו מאכן וויסן עטוואס פון  
דיא שפראך וואס דער מנהג איז  
צו רעדין בייא דיא ישמעאלים דען  
זייא ריידן מיט דרייא שפראך א' דיא  
שפראך פון ישמעאל, ב' פארטיגאל,  
דיא שפראך ריידן די יהודים וואס  
הייסן פרענקן, ג' דיא שפראך פון  
ערבית דיא שפראך ריידן אלי מענשן  
הן דארף לייט הן שטאט לייט אין  
אלי זייערי האנדלן: אונ אווי איז דער  
לשון וויא זייא ציילן:  
אחד. תנן. תלתא. ארבע. חמשה. שיתיה.  
שבעה. תמניא. תשעה. עשרה. אחדאש.  
תנאש. תלתאש. ארבעתאש. חמשתאש.  
עשרין. אחד עשרין. תנן עשרין. וכו'.  
תלתין. ארבעין. חמשין. שיתין. שבעין.  
תמנין. תשעין. מאה. אלף.

נאך וועלן מיר שרייבן פיל ווערטער  
פון לשון ערבית וואס מער נייטיג איז.  
ירושלים רופן זייא עיר קודש.  
חברון חבראן שכם נאבלאט. צפת  
סאפאת. טבריה טבריא. אז ער פרעגט  
אויף שלום זאגט מען מה שלמי.  
ענפרט ער שלם. אז ער פרעגט אויף  
דעם מקח זאגט ער כדש הדא. עפן די  
טהיר אפתח בבא. צו פאר מאכן סגר  
אלבב. אז ער שווערט זאגט ער עלי  
ראסק כלומר על ראשי. אדער חיי  
עוני. כלומר חיי עיניו. געלט הייסט  
מעסארי. און אז ער בעט געלד זאגט  
ער הטי מעסארי. אויף איין איי זאגט  
מען בעט. באציל ציבל. מיוזן דיא  
וואג זאת איז בוימאיל, קדיר איין  
טאפ, מויה וואסר. טחין מעל, חובזה  
ברויט לחמה איז פלייש סעמאק פיש

ענבים. תין היינו תאנים. תפוח  
היינו תפוחים. אגס היינו באר-  
נעס. ליפת היינו מערין. הרוצה  
לומר הן אומר טייב. ועל לא  
אומר לא. לבאר היינו לחוץ.  
תאמאן היינו לשון סילק וסיום:

ענב וויינטרויב תין פייגן תפוח עפיל  
אגאס בארנעס. ליפת מערין, אויף יא  
זאגט מען טייב אויף גיין זאגט מען  
לא. לאבאר צו דרויסן תאמאן איז  
גמיינט איין סוף:

ספר קורות העתים לישורון בארץ  
ישראל... יוצא לאור ע"י הר' מאיר  
אנשיין... ירושלם, תרצ"א, דף  
י"ג.

ספר קורות העתים לישורון בארץ  
ישראל אין דען ספר איז פר ציילט  
דען גרויסן אום גליק פון ארץ  
ישראל, לכן האבין מיר מעתיק גוועזן  
דעם ספר אויף לשון אשכנז פון וועגן  
די וואס קעגן ניט לשון הקודש...  
ווארשא, 1841. ז. כג/א—כג/ב.

## Translation

### *The Arabic Language*

To make known some [necessary words] of the language which is customarily spoken by the Yishmeeylim [the Lithuanian Yiddish pronunciation for Yišma'elim = Arabs]:

Three languages are spoken [in Palestine]: first, the language of Yishmoel [=Turkish]; second, Portugal [=Špan-yolish], the language spoken by the Jews called Frenken [=Sephardim]; and third, the Arabic language — the common language spoken both by village people and city people in all their transactions.

The following is the manner in which they count: aḥad, tnen, tlate, arba', ḥamso, sītte, sab'o, tmanyä, tis'a, 'asara, aḥadāš, tnāš, tlatāš, arba'tāš, ḥamastāš, 'ašrin, aḥad-'asrīn, tnān-'asrīn, etc.; tlatīn, arb'īn, ḥamsīn, sītīn, sab'īn, tmanīn, tis'īn, miāh, alf.

In addition we will also write down some of the most necessary words from the Arabic language: Jerusalem is called 'ir quds, Hebron ḥebrān [= el ḥalīl!], Shechem nōblāt [= Nablus!], Safed sāfaāt [= Šāfed!], Tiberias tiburyā [=Tabariye!].<sup>34</sup> When one asks, "How are you?", he says

34. The names of these cities were well known to almost every Jew, and the mention of them here is natural. There is no doubt that

*mah salamī*,<sup>35</sup> and the answer to it is *salam*. When one inquires about the price [of something offered for sale], he says *kadeš hadā*. Open the door, *eftaḥ babā*. Shut [the door], *segar albab*. When one makes a vow, he says *‘alī rāsek*, namely, upon my [your] head, or *ḥayay ‘ūni*, namely, by the life of his [my] eyes. Money is *mesāri*, and when one asks for money, he says *hati mesāri*. An egg is called *bēt*; *bācīl* [means] onions; *mīzan* — the scales; *zet* is oil; *qār* — a pot; *mūyā* — water; *ṭhīn* — flour; *ḥubzeh* — bread; *laḥmeh* is meat; *sēmak* — fish; *‘oneb* — grapes; *tīn* — figs; *tappuah* — apple; *agēs* — pears; *līft* — carrots. For “yes” one says *ṭayyib*, and “no” is *lā*; *lābār* [means] outside; *tāmān* means an end.<sup>36</sup>

This was the first attempt by an Ashkenazi Jew to inform his brethren abroad who intended to settle in Palestine of the most necessary words in Arabic, although the possibility that R. Menahem-Mendl had an earlier word-list before him should not be overlooked. Once able to name the various foods and to use the most necessary daily phrases, one already could mingle with Arabs and had no need to remain speechless or to depend upon “gesticulating with the hands”, as happened with R. Gedalye Semyatitshe, mentioned above.<sup>37</sup>

Strangely, the claim that knowledge of Arabic was of no help in earning a living was used a few years later as an argument by the leaders of the Ashkenazic community in

R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenitzer was following a traditional standardization of the names of these cities as they are recorded in earlier Jewish itineraries, e.g.:

וקורין הישמעאלים כל סביב ירושלים והר ציון אלקודס ר"ל הקודש, כי כל הארצות ההם קוראים אותה ארץ הקודשה.

(R. Meshulam m'Voltera, of the year 1481, *Ocar Masa'ot*, 102)

הישמעאלים קורין לדמשק אל שם, לצידון צידה, לשכם נפליס, לירושלים אל קודש, לחברון אל כליל.

(*A Pilgrimage to Palestine* by R. Moshe Bassola, of the year 1542, ed. by I. Ben-Zvi, 88).

ירושלים עיר הקודש וועלכש בלשון ישמעאלים ובלשון ערביים ווערט אײך קודש גהײסן, דהיינו מיט דער מלאמים קידש.

(*Sefer Yede Moshe*, by R. Moshe Yerushalmi, of the year 1769, (Tel Aviv edition, 1938), 41.)

35. The correct question is *kif inte*. The writer confused it with the greeting, *ma' salāmi*.

36. *Sefer Koroṭh ha-‘Ittim li[Ye]shurun b'erec Israel* (Yiddish Edition), (Warsaw, 1841), 23a-23b.

37. Extensive Arabic-Yiddish vocabularies are described below, Appendix V.

Jerusalem in their effort to dissuade Sir Moses Montefiore from introducing secular education by establishing "iskoles", that is schools for the younger generation.

In a memorandum to the head of British Jewry and the London Committee of Deputies, its representative body, dated 15th Ab, [5]609 [=1849], they maintained that secular education would be detrimental to their traditions, and among their arguments they put forward the following:

What benefit will sprout out of it for our sustenance? Do we not see with our own eyes, that it is impossible to make a living in this country from the knowledge of foreign languages? We have already with us quite a few of our own people who write and speak French, German, Polish and Russian thoroughly, and actually starve, and are compelled to receive charity from the community funds. *As for the languages of this country, (Arabic, Spanyolish), our children are thoroughly familiar with them indeed. There are also to be found businessmen who know (Arabic and Spanyolish).* This matter may, on the contrary, cause people to leave the Holy Land, and emigrate abroad for a place where they will be able to make a living by making use of their knowledge of languages. No, not for this purpose have our children been brought here, that they might go abroad, but we, with our children, came here to settle permanently until our Redeemer will speedily arrive in our days.<sup>38</sup>

Interesting observations concerning the knowledge and use of languages among Jews in Palestine, to which the writers of this memorandum refer, are contained in the official correspondence of the British consuls in Jerusalem. In a report by Wm. Tanner Young, the first Consul there, to Lord Palmerston, dated May 25, 1839, he notes that: "The languages in which the Jews chiefly communicate are Spanish [Španyolish] and Arabic. — Contracts among them and their writing generally are done in Hebrew."<sup>39</sup>

In a "summary of Political affairs in Jerusalem for the year 1857", dated January 1, 1858, James Finn, known for his endeavor to introduce skilled trades among Jerusalem Jews, reports to the Earl of Clarendon:

38. Shalom [Salo] Baron, "On the History of the Jewish Settlement in Jerusalem", (Hebrew), ספר קלויור (Jubilee Volume in Honor of Professor Joseph Klausner), (Tel Aviv, 1937), 305.

39. Albert M. Hyamson (Editor), *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in relation to the Jews in Palestine 1838-1914* (London, 1939), Part I, 7.

Before proceeding to notice the political affairs of European Consulates, I ought to mention the Jews, being as they are in their present condition here, a compound of sundry nationalities.

Their number amounts to about 8,000, almost half the city, and the majority of them are of the Spanish-speaking class, called Sephardim, and are generally Turkish subjects.

But the other great section of Jews, the Europeans, who speak German [= Yiddish], Polish, or Russian<sup>40</sup> are now rising into importance, under the patronage of their respective Consuls — their political status is greatly improved, and their number has been augmented of late from Russia.<sup>41</sup>

On May 22, 1862, he informs Sir H. L. Bulwar that:

The majority of European Jews are of this denomination [Ashkenazim], and in every large city they have their synagogues, their Rabbis, and their Jewish dialect of speech distinct from those of the other Jews: who are known as the Sephardim, or Spanish and Portuguese Jews.

In this city [Jerusalem] they amount to three thousand souls: but only within the last forty years have their numbers been in any way considerable.<sup>42</sup>

A reminder that the Ashkenazic Jews are prevented from engaging in agriculture by their lack of knowledge of Arabic, "the language of the country", is made by one of the Jerusalem correspondents of Sir Moses Montefiore. In 1874, when the latter proposed to raise the economic standard of the Ashkenazim by introducing agriculture and skilled trades, his attention was called to the difficulties. Emphasis was especially laid on the fact that Ashkenazi Jews did not understand Arabic, which was of the utmost importance for those who wished to acquire their practical knowledge from Arabs. We find this in one of the many letters sent to Montefiore in answer to his request for suggestions as to the best way of ameliorating the condition of the Ashkenazi community. Among other things this correspondent wrote:

40. It is clear that these designations are erroneously applied to Jerusalem Jews, and are perhaps intended to distinguish the respective dialects of Yiddish in accordance with the country of their origin.

41. Hyamson, *op. cit.*, 257.

42. Hyamson, *op. cit.*, Part II (London, 1941), 297. In another despatch, to Earl Russell, dated June 19, 1862, Finn mentions the services rendered by his "Hebrew Dragoman", Mr. C. Simeon Rosenthal, "who speaks Russian and Jewish German [Yiddish], and Hebrew." (*Ibid.*, 302)

I must confess, too, that it is difficult for us to advise upon these matters, especially as the Jewish population of Jerusalem consists mostly of old men coming from all parts of the world, differing much in their views on most subjects connected with the Holy Land, the great majority of whom do not understand the Arabic language, and how can such persons engage in Agricultural pursuits? <sup>43</sup>

We have so far dealt with the knowledge — or lack of knowledge — of Arabic among Ashkenazim in Palestine. A vivid picture of the language position in general in the old Yishuv is given by Abraham Frumkin, a native of Jerusalem (born 1873; died in New York, 1940), who in his youth emigrated to London and was among the pioneers of the Socialist movement in England and in the United States. The following is from his vividly written memoirs of the Jerusalem of the seventies of the 19th century:

Yiddish was the spoken language in our house. The occasion to speak Hebrew, or as it was called "Lošn koydeš" [= Leshon kodesh] was seldom at hand. It was used only when there was need to interrupt one's prayers... or when one had to carry on a conversation with a Sephardi, not knowing his language: Spanyolish. At any rate, every one in our house, both great and small, spoke a fluent and idiomatic Yiddish. My father <sup>44</sup> also was a fair writer in Yiddish, and in 1877 he even made an attempt to publish a Yiddish periodical "Die Rose", but of it no more than four issues appeared. <sup>45</sup>

Another language, which was almost the second spoken by us, was

43. London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews. Translation of a letter addressed by Sir Moses Montefiore to the Jewish Congregations in the Holy Land (London, 1874), 44.

44. *Israel Dov Frumkin*, born 1850 in Dubrovno, Russia, died 1914 in Jerusalem. In the years 1870-1911 he published and edited in Jerusalem the weekly "ha-Havatzelet" in which he fought bitterly against the Haluka-System, retreating from this position only after he was excommunicated. In 1873, he established, with the cooperation of the Palestinian Abraham Moses Luncz, the society "Tif'eret Yerushalaim" for the improvement of communal activities; in 1875, published the Palestine report by Samuel Montagu and Dr. Asher; in 1877 edited and published in cooperation with Michael Cohen, the Yiddish bi-weekly "Havatzelet — Die Rose"; in 1884, founded with Eliezer ben Yehuda and Nissim Bekhar, the society 'Ezrat Nidahim' to combat missionary activities among Jerusalem Jews.

His son, Gad Frumkin, a younger brother of the late Abraham F., was a Supreme Court Justice in mandated Palestine, whose writings are chiefly devoted to judicial problems.

45. Cf. Mordecai Kosover, "Havatzelet — Die Rose", in *Kovetz Maamarim*, on the History of Periodicals in Palestine (Hebrew), (Tel Aviv, 1936) II, 113-119. Also in *Literarische Bleter* (Yiddish), Nos. 20, 21, 1936.

used in our family: "Ladino", or Spanyolish. This happened because we had had in our house a domestic servant, a Sephardi woman, the old and good-natured "Simkha", who nursed and fondled us while we were children; also because my father's sister, the aunt Gishe, was married to a Sephardi, and all her family spoke only Spanyolish.

In addition I know one more language: Arabic, which I spoke very fluently while still a child. I acquired it without the slightest effort on my part. We spent part of our life in the street, we mingled with Arabs, dealt with them. The times were different then. No one yet knew of an Arab-Jewish problem... peace prevailed among Arabs and Jews. For several years we lived in a house the window of which overlooked the courtyard of the then "Mufti" [of Jerusalem]. Our Arab neighbors would, at times, pay us a visit and were our guests, and on more than one occasion I visited them.<sup>46</sup>

Supporting testimony to the knowledge of Arabic among Ashkenazim is offered by another native of Jerusalem, *Ephraim Cohen-Reiss*, at one time a leading figure in Jewish secular education in Palestine and especially in Jerusalem, where he was principal of the "Lemel School." "Still another advantage", he writes in his memoirs, "had R. Refoel [Raphae] the 'dayyan' [religious judge] in that he spoke Arabic fluently and the Arab citizens showed him their friendship. The Ashkenazic Jews of Safed generally spoke Arabic far better than the Jews of Jerusalem, because the settlement in Safed was older. Even in their way of living, as well as in their attire, they were closer to the Arabs."<sup>47</sup>

We conclude this part of our study of the Arabic language among the Ashkenazim with an excerpt from the preface to the regulations of the Craftsmen Society, "Yegi'a Kappayim", founded in Jerusalem, 1906 — in itself a highly interesting document:<sup>48</sup>

The first immigrants who arrived here 90 years ago, the majority of whom came from Lithuania and Russia, found a desolate and empty country... In addition they were kept back from coming into contact with the native population by their lack of understanding of the language of the country and by their ignorance of its customs. As a result

46. A. Frumkin, *In the Springtime of Jewish Socialism* (Yiddish), (New York, 1940), 18-19.

47. Ephraim Cohen-Reiss, *From the Reminiscences of a Man of Jerusalem* (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1933), 219.

48. For a full account of this society, see the writer's paper, "Jewish Workingmen in Palestine" (Yiddish) *Yivo-Bleter*, XXI (1943), 296-301.

they were unable to make a start towards their self-maintenance through business or other occupations, and they were compelled to exclude themselves and be separated from the rest of the population.

But for various reasons, an immigration to Palestine began after a lapse of 25 years. Among the many who arrived here were business people and craftsmen, who began to carry on the trade in the country, and to introduce fabrication (industry) as well . . . They quickly acquired the language of the country and acquainted themselves with its customs and manners. And because they were responsible for their livelihood, they learned about their neighbors, and availed themselves of their knowledge, in order to get along with them in business.<sup>49</sup>

The foregoing has been a sketch of the gradual approach to the Arabic language of the old Ashkenazic Settlement as reflected in contemporary records. Starting out with "speech by signs", the Ashkenazi Jews by daily contact with the Arabs acquired the more necessary expressions of daily use. At the same time they took over words and phrases that became part of their vernacular, in sufficient number to justify their being regarded as Arabic elements in the Yiddish Language of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish Community in Palestine.

We may now pass on to the specific grammatical and linguistic qualities of this Arabic vocabulary in the Yiddish as they are primarily reflected in their phonology and morphology.

49. *Statuten-bukh un Ordnungen funm Algemeynem fereyn Yegid'a Kappayim*, (Jerusalem, 1906), 1-3.



## CHAPTER II

## LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS

## I. PHONOLOGY

Before proceeding to the phonological observations, it may be appropriate to call attention to some characteristic features of the Yiddish language. Omitting the complex of linguistic conditions which are highly instructive to the student of linguistics, it is necessary to point to some of the more important facts having a bearing on this study.

An historical-linguistic analysis shows that the Yiddish language came into use as far back as a millenium ago. For its beginnings we may theoretically look back to the time when Jews settled in Germany, especially in the Rhine basin, close to the border of France,<sup>50</sup> whither they came under pressure of persecution or expulsion. For a time, before the 16th century, the Jews found themselves in a German-speaking region, to which they brought the Hebrew and Romance elements in what became their language, or in the dialects spoken in their immediate surroundings.<sup>51</sup>

From Germany the Jews migrated mainly along a line stretching eastward — to Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland and Lithuania (the last two later incorporated into Czarist Russia), which migrations were forced upon them by the series of calamities which they suffered during the whole period of the Crusades up to the "Black Death", which broke out in 1348. Thus mention is made of the establishment of the

50. Cf. Otto Stobe, *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, (Braunschweig, 1866), 8 ff.

51. Some of these Romance elements are mentioned by Leopold Zunz, *Gottesdienstl. Vorträge* (Frankfurt a.M., 1892), in the notes to pp. 455-57. See also I. Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, (Yiddish) (Vilno, 1937), VI, 25.

Jewish communities of Kalisz ("iudei seniores Kalisienses") in 1287,<sup>52</sup> Cracow ("vicus iudeorum") in 1304,<sup>53</sup> Lwów ("dicte nationes... Judeorum") in 1356,<sup>54</sup> Sandomierz in 1367.<sup>55</sup> From that time on the Jews in Eastern Europe found themselves principally in a Slavic-speaking area, linguistic elements of which penetrated into the Yiddish language, which branched out into several dialects, schematically designated as Polish, Lithuanian, and Volhynian, according to the geographical regions. A more precise division, based upon the different pronunciations of characteristic vowels, is introduced by Yiddish philologists, namely: 1. Western Yiddish, where the historical *ei* — sound (in words like "fleish", meat, "bein", bone) was lengthened to *ā*, (flāš, b<sup>ā</sup>n); 2. Middle Yiddish, to the East of the rivers Vistula and Son, where *ei* > *ai*: "flaiš, bain", and 3. Eastern Yiddish, east of the line mentioned above, where the *ei*-sound is retained: "fleiš, bein." This, in turn, is divided into: a) North-eastern Yiddish, the characteristic sound of which is *o* ("zogn", to say, "foter", father), and b) South-eastern Yiddish with the *u*-sound, ("zugn, futer").<sup>56</sup>

One more matter with a bearing on our study is to be mentioned here, namely — the phonology of the Hebrew sounds in Yiddish. In spite of the fact that the Yiddish vocabulary contains a considerable percentage of Semitic words (chiefly from Hebrew, with some from Aramaic),<sup>57</sup> it has not

52. Ignacy Schipper, *Studyja nad stosunkami gospodarczymi Żydów w Polsce średniowiecza* (Studies in the Economic Relations of the Jews in Poland during the Middle Ages), (Lwów, 1910), 62.

53. *Ibid.*, 63.

54. *Ibid.*, 66.

55. *Ibid.*, 65.

56. I follow the divisions of the philologist Max Weinreich in his article "Yiddish", in the *Allgemeine Encyklopedye, Yidn*, (Paris, 1940), II, 69.

As may be inferred from the historical survey in Part One of this study, Ashkenazim speaking the above-mentioned dialects, are represented in Palestine.

The dialect treated in this study is the Eastern (Lithuanian) Yiddish which is predominant among Ashkenazim in Jerusalem and close to that of my home-town, Vilno, Lithuania (now incorporated, as one of the Baltic Republics, in Soviet Russia).

57. They are treated by Salomo Birnbaum, *Das Hebräische und Aramäische in der jiddischen Sprache*, (Leipzig, 1922), 55 pp.

In his opinion the percentage of the various elements in the Yiddish

preserved the characteristic Semitic sounds. The most plausible explanation for this is the influence of the German language. How these changes occurred, in accordance with the phonetic laws governing the Germanic sounds, has been amply demonstrated by the philologist, *M. Weynger*.<sup>58</sup>

One outstanding feature of these changes is the disappearance of the quality of the guttural sounds. Vestiges of it can be found in an exception to this rule: in a few instances the pronunciation of the *y* (י) has been preserved, although in a somewhat nasalized form. Thus, the name יעקב is pronounced iānkief (whence the diminutive iānkl!), מעשה — mānsi (in the "Polish" dialect only, while in the Lithuanian it is pronounced *may'se*), and the vocative שמע (שמע ישראל) — šmā'n.

We have likewise historical notes on the pronunciation of another guttural, the fricative *h* (ה) among Jews in Germany — again due to the influence of German. According to *M. Güdemann*, Jews in different regions of Germany were divided into two groups: those of the Rhine region pronounced this sound as *h*, and accordingly were called "בני הית", while those in Southern Germany and Austria sounded the *h* "in a hardening fashion and deep in the throat", and were therefore called "בני חית".<sup>59</sup>

When the Yiddish language in Palestine came into contact with Arabic, no changes occurred in its sounds. Arabic words penetrated into it, but it was not subjected to the influence of their sounds, and the observation, "בני אשכנז לשונם כמו ב"ח"ל, [בחוץ לארץ]. ("The Ashkenazim speak the same language as

vocabulary is approximately: German 60%, Hebrew-Aramaic 25%, and Slavic 10% (*Ibid.*, 53). Earlier, Leo Wiener (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XX [1898], 620 f.) gave the following percentages: German 70%, Hebrew-Aramaic 20%, Slavic 10%.

58. "Hebrew sounds in the Yiddish Language", (Yiddish), in דער פונקט (Annual devoted to the History of Yiddish Literature and Language, Folklore, Criticism and Bibliography), (Vilno, 1913), I, 79-84.

59. *M. Güdemann, Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der Juden in Deutschland*, (Wien, 1888), III, 75 f.

One wonders why this note escaped the attention of the bibliographer Isaiah Sonne, who had to apply a forced explanation for "הית", as the region of "Hesse." See his otherwise valuable "Expurgation of Hebrew Books — the Work of Jewish Scholars", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 46 (1942), 1014.

they do abroad”), made by one of the Jerusalem citizens, was the rule.<sup>60</sup>

With regard to sounds, Yiddish passed through the stages characteristic of any other language: it substituted for sounds foreign to it corresponding sounds of its own. This happened principally with respect to the guttural and emphatic sounds of Arabic, which were enunciated by Ashkenazic Jews as Yiddish sounds.

Let us now consider the respective phonetic changes.<sup>61</sup>

## A. CONSONANTS

### 1. *Laryngeals*

#### 1. $\text{ح}$ (*h*)' > *surd velar fricative* $\text{כ}$ (*kh*) in Yiddish:

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
báħraġī <sup>62</sup>	>	ba'khradži 'sailor'
ġarrāħ	>	džara'kh 'barber, surgeon'
falħe	>	fa'lkhe 'tillage, agriculture'
ħaġġ	>	khadž 'to make a pilgrimage'
ħákam	>	khake'men 'to be at law'
ħállaq(a)	>	khala'ken 'to cut the hair, to shave'
ħal'we	>	khala've 'a sweetmeat'
ħammām	>	khama'm 'a bath house'
ħárake	>	kha'rake 'commotion'
ħárīm	>	khare'm(ke) 'Muslim women'
ħašabiye	>	khašabi'ye 'wooden trailer'

60. *Šaalu Šelom Yerušalayim* [by Moshe Neħemiah Kahanov] (Odessa, 1857), 3.

61. My treatment of the phonetic changes has been greatly facilitated by the use of W. H. T. Gairdner, *The Phonetics of Arabic* (London, 1925).

For the phonology of Yiddish, I have availed myself of E[dward] Sapir, "Notes on Judeo-German Phonology" *JQR*, VI (1915-16), 231-266; and of Z[almen] Reizen, *Gramatik fun der Yidišer Sprach* (Vilno, 1920), Part I, 37-101.

62. The Arabic spelling of the respective words is given in the vocabulary; for practical purposes, transliteration only is employed here.

The Arabic vocables in this study follow the Arabic vernacular of Jerusalem and its vicinity.

The accented vowel in Yiddish is indicated by an acute accent mark.

ḥaššāš	>	khaša's(nik) 'basket maker'
ḥay-allāh	>	khaya'lla 'let (it)'
maḥḡare	>	ma'khdžere 'quarry'
máḥkeme	>	ma'khkeme 'court-house'
maḥbūs	>	mkha'bis(nik) 'convict'
ṣaḥḥīye	>	sakhi'ye 'Health department'

2. ع (') > *glottal catch, or disappears:*

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
'abāye	>	aba'ye 'cloak of fellahin'
'āḡemi	>	a'džemi 'Persian, Persian Jew'
'aqāl ('iqāl)	>	aga'l 'head-band'
'āraq	>	a'rak 'brandy-like strong drink'
'āzzar	>	a'zzar 'to blame, to reprove'
ma'rūf	>	maaru'f 'favor'
ma'alēš	>	male's 'never mind'
ma'lūm	>	malu'm 'certainly'
mu'allim	>	mua'lim 'teacher, master'
mu'āmale	>	mua'male 'transaction'
mu'azzar	>	mua'zzar 'insolent person'
ta'rīfe	>	tari'fe 'half a piastre' (coin)
za'rūr	>	zaru'r(es) 'medlar' (fruit of —)

2. *Velars*

1. ح (ḥ) > כ (kh), as No. 1, 1 above. Remains surd velar fricative *ach*.

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ḥālas	>	kha'las 'finish, bring to an end'
ḥáraba	>	khare'ben 'to ruin'
ḥawāḡa	>	khava'dža 'Mister (Mr.)'
ḥayyāl	>	khaya'l(es) 'gendarme'
ḥāzūq	>	khazu'k 'defeat' (liter. 'pointed pole')
ḥudarḡi (ḥúdraḡi)	>	khu'dradži 'seller of vegetables'
máshhara	>	ma'skhara 'laughing stock'
ruḡše	>	ru'khse 'permit'
śāḡ(e)r	>	sa'kher 'rock'

2. ġ (*gh*) = *practically French gutt. r* > ʁ (*r*) = *sonant velar fricative*.

(a) This voiced consonant, which should be made to articulate somewhere between hardened *g* and *r*, without the guttural noise, is generally pronounced like the sound close to it in Yiddish — ʁ (*r*). Thus,

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
baghl	>	barl 'mule'
ghaṣb (an 'anhu)	>	ra'sb (en a'nu) 'against his will'
ghašim	>	raši'm 'inexperienced'
ghānam	>	ra'nem 'sheep'
tabliḡh	>	tabli'r 'legal summons'

(b) It is pronounced like sonant velar stop ɣ (*g*) in du'gri 'straight', gafi'r 'escort, guard, special policeman', gaz 'naphtha', mu'grabi 'Arab from Morocco', instead of Arabic — dúghrī, ghafīr, ghāz (from the French "gaz"), múghrabī (= Mághribī).

3. ʕ (*q*) > ʔ (*k*):

(a) The velar-emphatic ʕ is pronounced like surd velar or palatal *k* in Yiddish.

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
báqar	>	ba'ker '(herd of) sheep'
qāḍi	>	ka'di 'judge'
qawās	>	kava's 'Consular guard'
qidre	>	ki'dre 'earthen pot'
qirbe	>	ki'rbe 'waterskin'
quffe	>	ko'fe 'basket'
muqeir	>	make'r 'ass-driver'
nuqṭe	>	nu'kte 'police post'

(b) The ʕ is sometimes also pronounced like glottal catch (hamza, ' ) as townspeople do, e.g. *il-'uds* as well as *il-quḍs* 'Jerusalem', *'addēš* instead of *qaddēš* 'how much?', or

'*ahwe* for *qahwe* 'coffee', *fo* for *fōq* 'above' (in: *min taht umin fōq* 'from below and from above').

(c) A third form occurs ج > sonant velar stop ɣ e.g. in *aga'l* 'head-band' and *manga'l* 'copper container for red-hot coals', for Arabic '*iqāl* and *manqal*.'

#### 4. ک (k) > ק (k):

It is pronounced like כ in Hebrew elements in Yiddish (in words like כבוד *ko'ved* 'honor', כהן *key'hen* 'priest', כונה *kavo'ne* 'intention', כותל מערבי *koysl marō'vi* 'wailing wall'), corresponding to the Yiddish sound ק (k). Accordingly,

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
kātib	>	ka'teb 'writer, secretary'
kīf inte	>	kifi'nte 'How are you?'
kīf il ḥāl	>	ki'fl-khal 'How do you fare?'
kuḥl	>	ku'khle 'mascara'
kúrdī	>	ku'rđi 'a man from Kurdistan'
kúsa	>	ku'se 'gourd'
kweyyis	>	ko'yes 'fine, all right'
wakāle	>	vaka'le 'power of attorney'

### 3. *Dentals*

#### 1. ج (g) *Engl. j* > דז (dž), no change in pronunciation.

This sound is usually pronounced in Yiddish as a compound of d + ž = dž, as sonant dental affricative in Slavic languages, and is equivalent to the same sound in Arabic words, e.g.:

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ġāmi'	>	džami'ye 'mosque'
ġarra	>	dža're 'earthenware jar'
ġarrāḥ	>	džara'kh 'barber, surgeon'
ġēdā	>	dže'da 'brave, clever man'
ġmīle	>	džmi'le 'favor, good service'

In some words it is pronounced, due to Turkish influence,

like sonant velar stop (hard *g*, as in Engl. *egg*), e.g. *gaml* 'camel', *gúmrük* 'custom-house', *nargí'le* 'water-pipe'.

2. ד (d) > ד (d), no change in pronunciation.

(a) Usually pronounced as voiced consonant ד in Yiddish, in words like

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
daḥilak	>	dakhi'lak 'I ask of you'
dállal(a)	>	dale'len 'to exclaim'
dallāl	>	dala'l 'public crier, auctioneer'
darbiye	>	darbi'ye 'highway-duty'
dabka	>	de'bke 'cadenced dance'

(b) It is pronounced ב (t) in *maza't* 'auction, public sale' for *mazād*.

3. (a) ש (š) > *simple dental* ס (s):

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ašīl	>	asi'l 'a horse of good (noble) breed'
ghašb	>	rasb 'in spite of'
ḥālaš	>	kha'las 'finish, bring to an end'
ḥummūš	>	khu'mus 'chick pea'
maḥšūš	>	makhsu's 'special, especially'
mašārī	>	masa'res 'money'
mašbene	>	ma'sbene 'soap-house'
našīb	>	nasi'b 'fortune, luck'
ruḥse	>	ru'khse 'permit'
šabāḥ	>	saba'kh 'morning'
šādaq(a)	>	sade'ken 'to endorse'
šaḥ(e)r	>	sa'kher 'rock'
šaḥḥiye	>	sakhi'ye 'Health department'
šarrāf	>	sara'f 'money-changer'
šīniye	>	seni'ye 'tray, plate'
šurmāye	>	surma'ye 'shoe'

(b) ש (š) > *dental* ז (z):

As in *zghrīr* > *zrir* 'small, little', instead of the Classical Arabic *ṣaghīr*.



(c)  $\text{س} (\text{ṣ}) > \text{צ} (\text{ṣ} = \text{ts})$ :

is pronounced like  $\text{צ}$  (ts) in אבן באצלס משפחה "Abu-ba'cls mišpo'khe" 'He is of the abū-baṣl family.'

4.  $\text{ض} (\text{ḍ})$  *velarized d* > *simple dental*  $\text{ד} (\text{d})$ :

Arabic		In Yiddish
'ardḥāl	>	ardkha'l 'petition, indictment'
arḍiye	>	ardi'ye 'storage'
ḍamman	>	dame'nen 'to farm out taxes'
qāḍi	>	ka'di 'judge'
úḍrub	>	u'drub 'strike!'

5.  $\text{ط} (\text{ṭ})$  > *dental*  $\text{ט} (\text{t})$ :

Arabic		In Yiddish
baṭāl ...	>	bata'l 'to be of no avail, finished'
mabsūṭ	>	mapsu't 'satisfied, happy, content'
mazbaṭa	>	ma'zbete 'a contract'
nuṭṭe	>	nu'kte 'police-post'
ṭafrān	>	tafra'n 'penniless, pauper'
ṭalab(a)	>	tale'ben 'to seek, demand'
ṭalfān	>	talfa'n 'dotard'
ṭayyāra	>	taya're 'child's kite'
ṭaiyibe	>	ta'yibe 'favor'
ṭūriye	>	turi'ye 'spade'

6.  $\text{ظ} (\text{ẓ})$  *velarized z* > *dental*  $\text{ז} (\text{z})$ :

Ar. mazbaṭa, wallāh el-'azim, became *ma'zbete* 'a contract', *vola-el-azi'm* 'By God the Almighty'.

N.B.  $\text{ط} (\text{ṭ})$  and  $\text{ظ} (\text{ẓ})$  are originally inter-dentals.

7. *Palatalized*  $\text{ل} (\text{l})$ :

Palatalized l is heard in words like *bala's* 'gratis' (Arabic: balāš), *khala'ken* 'to cut the hair' (from ḥállaq), *mua'male* 'transaction' (Ar. mu'āmale), *šale'ken* 'to reject' (Ar. šálah), *tablī'r* 'legal summons' (Ar. tablīgh), *tale'ben* 'to seek, demand' (Ar. ṭalaba), *vaka'le* 'power of attorney' (Ar. wakāle), *zba'lnik* 'street cleaner' (from Ar. zibl, zbāli).

4. *Interdentals*1.  $\text{ט}(\text{t}) > \text{dental } \text{ט}(\text{t})$ :

It is pronounced *t* in words like *ktir* 'much', *mitl* 'like' (as city people do) instead of Ar. *kṭīr*, *mitl*.<sup>63</sup>

2.  $\text{ז}(\text{d}) > \text{dental } \text{ז}(\text{z})$ :

is heard as the dental *z* in Yiddish, e.g. *muezi'n* 'crier to prayer' for Ar. *mu'edḏin*, *ti'zkire* (also *ti'skire*) 'passport' for Ar. *tádkire*.

5. *Bilabials*1.  $\text{ב}(\text{b}) > \text{p}$ :

Although there is no original *p*-sound in Arabic, it appears sporadically in some words by assimilation to a voiceless consonant. Thus we have *khaps* 'prison' for *ḥabs*, *khápsi dam* 'life sentence' (liter. 'prison forever') for *ḥabsi dām*, and *mapsu't* 'satisfied, happy' for *mabsūt*.<sup>64</sup>

N.B. Arabs in Jerusalem pronounce both *mapsūt* and the correct *mabsūt*.<sup>65</sup>

2.  $\text{و}(\text{w}) > \text{v}$ :(a) *In the first syllable*:

Arabic		In Yiddish
wādi	>	va'di 'a brook'
wāḥad	>	va'khad 'one'
wakāle	>	vaka'le 'power of attorney'
waqqāf	>	voka'f 'overseer'
warše	>	vo'rše 'building site'
		(liter. workshop)

(b) *in the middle syllable*:

Arabic		In Yiddish
ḥawāḡa	>	khava'dža(e) 'Mister, Mr.'
zāwiye	>	zavi'ye 'rectangular goniometer'

63. Cf. G. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina*, 16, No. 3.

64. For the similarity of the Arabic of the Jews of Fez, North Africa, cf. Wolf Leslau, "Hebrew Elements in the Judeo-Arabic of Fez", *JQR*, XXXVI (1945), 64, n. 9.

65. Max Löhr, *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt von Jerusalem*, (Giessen, 1905), 4.

(c) *in the last syllable:*

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ḥalāwe	>	khala've 'a sweetmeat'
qawwās	>	kava's 'Consular guard'
mišwār	>	mušva'r 'a long way'
sāwa-sāwa	>	so've-so've 'of one opinion' (liter. equal)
šāwiš	>	šavi's 'sergeant'
silwān	>	silva'n, 'Silwān, Ar. village southeast of Jerusalem'
taḥtwān	>	takhtava'n 'collapsible bed' (liter. stretcher)

6. *Doubling of Consonants*

The doubling of a consonant between two vowels is clearly articulated in words like *bizza'r* (Ar. biz-zōr) 'forcibly', *inša'lla* (Ar. inšāllāh) 'if God permits', *ko'yyis* (Ar. kweyyis) 'fine, well', *mu'azzar* (Ar. mu'azzar) 'insolent person'.

This rule does not necessarily affect words ending in a voiceless consonant, e.g. *bas* for Ar. *bass*, 'enough'.

The doubling does not occur in words like *ḡarrāḥ* 'barber surgeon', *ḥayyāl* 'gendarme', *ṭayyāra* 'child's kite', which are pronounced *džara'kh*, *khaya'l*, *taya're*.

N.B. The doubling of consonants depends in many cases upon the knowledge of Arabic. It is generally clearly pronounced by those who have acquired the language.

## B. VOWELS

7. *Characteristic Vowel Changes*

1. "a" in open final syllable after the accent becomes "e" (א).

(a) *in concrete nouns:*

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
baiyāra	>	baya're 'orange grove'

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
bōya	>	bo'ye 'shoe-shine' (liter. paint)
dabbūra	>	dabu're 'mason's hammer'
falḥa	>	fa'lkhe 'tillage, agriculture'
ḡarra	>	dža're 'earthenware jar'
ḡōra	>	džu're 'cess pit, latrine'
ḥinna	>	khi'ne 'henna, red dye for finger nails'
kusba	>	ku'sbe 'waste of sesame-seeds after oil is pressed'
marmariya	>	marmari'ye 'a fragrant grass, used in popular remedies'
masbaḥa	>	ma'sbakhe 'rosary'
maṣbana	>	ma'sbene 'soap-house'
mazbaṭa	>	ma'zbete 'a contract, deed'
mḥaṭṭa	>	mkha'te 'railroad station'
na'na'	>	na'ne 'mint'
nuḡṭa	>	nu'kte 'police station'
salāṭa	>	sala'te 'salad'

(b) *in verbs:*

The change from "a" to "e" also occurs in some verbs of the فاعل، فعل، فاعل (fa'ala, fa'a'ala, fā'ala) — forms. As this takes place, a change in the accent also occurs: it is shifted from the ante-penult (in Arabic) to the penult (in Yiddish). Thus

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
dállal(a)	>	dale'len 'to exclaim'
dámman(a)	>	dame'nen 'to farm out taxes'
ḡáraḥ(a)	>	džare'khen 'to wound, to hurt'
ḥákam(a)	>	khake'men 'to be at law'
ḥárab(a)	>	khare'ben 'to ruin, to destroy'
ṣádaq(a)	>	sade'ken 'to endorse'
ṭálab(a)	>	tale'ben 'to seek, demand'

(c) *in verbal nouns:*

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
dabka	>	de'bke 'cadenced dance'
maḥkame	>	ma'khkeme 'courthouse'
šaṭāra	>	šata're 'a trick' (liter. cunning, deceit)
ziyāra	>	ziya're 'a visit'

N.B. 1. The accent here is the same as in Arabic.

2. "a" is preserved in some words which denote adjectival qualifications, like *ḡēdā* (Yiddish *dže'da*; Cf. Vocabulary No. 89), *ḥawāḡa* (khava'dža; No. 87) *yām fī ḡarra* (yam fi dža'ra; No. 94), and also in *uḡra* (u'džera 'the Sheriff's office').

## 2. i &gt; a:

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ḥirāse	>	khara'se 'tax for guarding property'
midmāk	>	madma'k 'row, layer of stones'
silwān	>	salva'n (Cf. Vocabulary, No. 245)

## 3. i &gt; e:

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
barrāni	>	bara'ne 'additional income' (liter. external, outward)
barārī	>	bra're 'culls (of oranges)'
bāš kātib	>	baška'teb 'chief clerk'
kātib el-'adil	>	ka'teb el-a'del 'Notary public'
maḥšī	>	ma'khše 'stuffed food' (vegetables, meat)
muhandis	>	meha'ndes 'architect'
muš lazim	>	mušla'zem 'there is no need'
niḡis	>	ni'džes 'impure, unclean; also nickname for Gypsies'
šaṭir	>	ša'ter 'clever; also tricky fellow' (liter. sharp, cunning)

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
ṣāhib	>	sa'kheb 'friend, companion'
ṣīniye	>	seni'ye 'tray, plate'
ṭubzi	>	tu'bze 'coarse-dressed stone'

### 8. *Addition of Vowels*

#### 1. "a" is added in:

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
baydar	>	baya'der 'threshing floor'
ma'rūf	>	maaru'f 'favor'
mal'ūn	>	malau'n 'accursed; also outcast'
suḥra	>	su'khara 'forced labor'

N.B. 1. The "a" in *ma'rūf* and *mal'ūn* is added because of 'ayin.

2. *su'khara* may be modelled after qutala-form.

#### 2. "e" is added in:

'uḡra	>	u'džera 'the Sheriff's office'
debš	>	de'beš 'rubble stone, mortar'
ḡāmi'	>	džami'e 'mosque'
ḥass	>	kha'se 'lettuce'
kuḥl	>	ku'khle 'mascara'

#### 3. "i" is added in:

raftiye	>	rafiti'ye 'bill of entry, transit duty'
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#### 4. "o" is added in:

nuḥl	>	nu'khol 'crowbar for drilling a hole'
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### 9. *Loss of Vowels*

"i" is lost in *ḥimāye*, which is pronounced *khma'ye* 'foreigner' (lit. protection).

## 10. *Diphthongs*

Classical Arabic has two principal diphthongs, *aj* and *au*, corresponding to the group *اي* and *او* (e.g. *بَيت* *bait*<sup>66</sup>, *خوف* *ḥauf*<sup>66</sup>).

In colloquial Arabic, *aj* is reduced to *ē* (open e, e.g. *bēt* for *bait*), and *au* is reduced to *ō* (open o, e.g. *hōf* for *ḥauf*), and these long open vowels are preserved in Yiddish.<sup>66</sup>

## 11. *Accent*

1. The accent of the Arabic words which penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish was generally retained, and corresponds to that of colloquial Arabic.<sup>67</sup> The vowel quantity however was not always preserved. Thus *كاتب* is pronounced both *kāteb* and *kateb* — *نصيب* — *nasīb* and *nasib*.

N.B. The change of accent which occurs with the change of the Arabic a-vowel to the e-vowel in Yiddish [e.g. 7, (b)], is not characteristic for it applies to whole phonology.

## 2. MORPHOLOGY

### A. NOUNS

## 12. *Gender*

1. All nouns ending in a-, or i-vowel in Arabic and changed to e-vowel in Yiddish [e.g. No. 7, (a)], are feminine, in accordance with the rule in Yiddish grammar (signified by the singular definite article "di").

2. Arabic masculine nouns to which an e-ending was added in Yiddish become feminine, e.g. Ar. *ḡāmi'* > *džami'ye* 'mosque', gull > *gu'le* 'marble', *ḥass* > *kha'se* 'lettuce'.

66. For the particulars of Palestinian Arabic, see Leonhard Bauer, *Das Palästinische Arabisch*, 1913, 12; for that spoken in Jerusalem, Löhr, *op. cit.*, 5 ff., 10; for Syria, Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, 25; for Egypt, Gairdner, *Phonetics of Arabic*, 45, and supplement between pp. 48 and 49.

67. On the accent in the Palestinian Arabic, Cf. L. Bauer, *op. cit.*, 17.

13. *Formation of Plurals*1. *Change of ending:*

Generally the Yiddish endings “-s” (or “es”) and “er”, and not those of Arabic are employed to form the plural.

(a) *-s-, or es-ending:*

<i>Arabic plural</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
asnād	>	sina'des 'supporting poles'
'azarāt	>	aza'res 'reproofs'
baiyārāt	>	baya'res 'orange groves'
balāṭāt	>	bala'tes 'paving stones'
bandurāt	>	bandu'res 'tomatoes'
efendiye	>	efe'ndis 'high officials'
eskidinya <sup>68</sup>	>	askedi'nes 'Mespilus'
glāl	>	gu'les 'marbles'
ḡrār	>	dža'res 'earthenware jars'
ḥaiyāle	>	khaya'les 'gendarmes'
ḥuḡḡāḡ	>	kha'džes 'pilgrims'
maṣāri, or maṣriyāt	>	masa'res 'money'
iqdāme	>	kada'mes 'roasted chick peas'
qdūr	>	ki'dres 'earthen pots'
qfāf	>	ko'fes 'baskets'
qirab	>	ki'rbes 'waterskins'
sudūr	>	si'dres 'lote-trees'
šuyūḥ, or mašāyiḥ	>	še'khes 'pl. of sheikh'
wukalā	>	vaki'les 'trustees'
za'arir	>	zaru'res 'medlar trees'
zabāyin	>	zbu'nes 'customers'
zētūn	>	zeytu'nes 'olives'

N.B. The accent in the Yiddish plural follows simply the Arabic singular accent which is on the penultimate (while that of the Arabic plural is on the ultima).

(b) *er-ending*, employed for plural of gentilic nouns in -i:

68. In Arabic it is a collective noun.



Ar. sing. 'áġami, ħábaši, and máġhrabi, become — a'džemer, kha'bešer, and mu'graber (in analogy with ara'ber 'Arabs', tey'mener [from Heb. תִּימָנִי, Teymān] 'Yemenites, Jews of Yemen') for the Ar. plurals a'ġām, ħabaš, and maghārbe.

## 2. Suffixes:

### (a) Slavic Suffixes:

1. -*nik*, which usually denotes quality or occupation, is added to the Ar. noun: *bakšiš'nik* 'one who takes bakhshish (= bribes)', *khadža'nik* (Ar. ḥaġġār plus "nik") 'quarrier', *khu'drenik* (ḥuḍra + "nik", for Ar. ḥuḍraġi) 'seller of vegetables', *mkhabi'snik* (Ar. maḥbūs) 'convict', *rasubra'snik* 'pederast', *zba'lnik* 'street cleaner', *khaša'snik* 'basket maker', *basla'khnik* 'one whose livelihood is connected with the slaughterhouse' (Ar. maslaḥ). *su'snik* 'one who sells sūs (= liquorice beverage)'.

2. -*ke*, -*uvke*, denoting the diminutive (or in a sense of derision), is heard in: *ara'bke* 'Arab woman' (Ar. *bint 'arab*), *baranu'vke* 'additional income' (Ar. *barrāni*), *baše'tke* (Cf. Vocabulary, No. 68), *dža'rke* 'small earthenware jar' (Ar. ġarra), *khare'mke* 'Muslim veiled women' (Ar. *ḥurme*).

### (b) Turkish suffix -*ġi*:

It is preserved, as in colloquial Arabic, in words ending in -*ġi*, denoting quality or occupation: *araba'ndži* 'coachman', *ava'ntadži* 'adventurer, swindler', *ba'khradži* 'sailor', *bo'yadži*, 'shoe-shiner', *khu'dradži* 'seller of vegetables', *ši'smedži* 'privy cleaner', *te'nekedži* 'tinsmith'.

N.B. All vocables mentioned here are given in their Yiddish pronunciation.

## B. VERBS

### 14. The Infinitive

An interesting change took place in the infinitive of Arabic verbs used by the Ashkenazic Jews, who were accustomed to the moods and tenses of the Yiddish verbs. This change is

especially noticeable in verbs of the *فَعَّلَ* and *فَعَّلَ* -formations in Arabic: the characteristic a-vowel has changed to e [§ 7 (b)], and the suffix '-en' was added to the infinitive. Thus,

<i>Arabic</i>		<i>In Yiddish</i>
dabbak(a)	>	de'bken 'to dance' (liter. to trample)
dallal(a)	>	dale'len 'to exclaim'
damman(a)	>	dame'nen 'to farm out taxes'
ğarah(a)	>	džare'khen 'to wound, to hurt'
ħağaz(a)	>	khadže'zen (to sequester, confiscate property)
ħakam(a)	>	khake'men 'to be at law'
ħarab(a)	>	khare'ben 'to ruin, to destroy'
(ta)kayyaf(a)	>	kaye'fen 'to have a good time'
şādaq(a)	>	sade'ken 'to endorse'
şalah(a)	>	šale'khen 'to reject'
ṭalab(a)	>	tale'ben 'to seek, demand'

Exceptions are infinitives like

'azar(a)	>	aza'ren 'to blame, to reprove'
ħağğ	>	kha'dževen 'to go abroad' (liter. to make a pilgrimage to Mecca)
ħallaq(a)	>	khala'ken 'to cut the hair' (Cf. Vocabulary, No. 134)
zār	>	ža'ren, or dža'ren 'to visit' (Cf. Vocabulary, No. 261)

N.B. All verbs, with few exceptions, end in "a" in Classical Ar., the "a" being omitted throughout in the colloquial.

### 15. *The Perfect*

The perfect is formed either by adding *et* to the stem (infinitive minus *-en*) or by prefixing *ge* to this form (there is practically no difference in meaning between these two forms of the past participle). Thus we have:

kaye'fen	—	kaye'fet	—	gekaye'fet
khake'men	—	khake'met	—	gekhake'met

sade'ken	—	sade'ket	—	gesade'ket
šale'khen	—	šale'khet	—	gešale'khet
tale'ben	—	tale'bet	—	getale'bet

How these verb-forms are used in phrases, is shown in the examples cited in the vocabulary.

### 3. SYNTAX

Syntactical peculiarities are noted in the vocabulary, e.g. Cf. Nos. 96, 100, 101, 223, 245, 256, 415, 445, 448.

**PART THREE**  
**VOCABULARY**



## CHAPTER I

## INTERJECTIONS

1. A popular interjection, very common among the Arabs, is *ya'lla!*. No encouraging statement may begin without it.<sup>1</sup> "Yalla fiš!" is heard on the fishmarket. "Yalla, rukcakh!", 'Yalla, move on, step forward', is an admonition to a person in one's way. "zog im *yalla i'mši!*, vet er geyn", 'tell him to move on, and he will move', is another saying to the same effect, frequently heard.

*ya'llah* = *yälläh*, composed of *يا الله* = O Lord!

*imši* — Imp. of the verb *مشى* *māšā* = To walk, go.

2. In driving dogs away, Jews everywhere use a foreign idiom. In Palestine, which is no exception, dogs are driven away in Arabic. "*ya'lla, rukh min hon*", or "*e'tla ba'ra*", are phrases commonly used for that purpose.

... *rukh min hon*<sup>2</sup> = *rūḥ min hōn* = get away from here!

*e'tla ba'ra* = 'eṭla' barra (إِخْرَاجُ) = get out, outside.

3. Something excellent wins acclamation in the words: "*si'z yam*", or "... *tama'm*", and is accompanied, in the Arabic manner, by a gesticulation.

*yam* = *يَم* — *yamm* = completely.

*tama'm* = *تَمَام* — *tamām* = excellent, accomplished.

BW, 179: just, jämm, tamām.

1. Bauer, *Das palästinische Arabisch*, 99, explains it, among others, as: "Vorwärts! ans Werk!"

2. I usually observe the following order in citing expressions and phrases in the vocabulary: they are given in their Yiddish pronunciation, followed by that in Arabic, and when necessary I also include the classical Arabic spelling. Yiddish phrases are generally followed by a translation into English. Phrases illustrating syntactical constructions are marked with an asterisk (\*).

4. "*yam du'gri*" is an answer, with a gesture in the appropriate direction, to the question \*, "vu geyt men do...?", 'where is the way to...?'

*dugri* = Ar. *dúghri*, دغري (Turkish *doghru*)  
= straight ahead!

Quite a few expressions are to be found in combination with the interjection, *ya*, showing surprise or discontent. Some of these follow:

5. *ya baye'y!* = *yā baiyī* (diminutive from *yāba*) = my [heavenly] father!, usually an exclamation in time of difficulties, but also of astonishment, as in the phrase, "*ya baye'y, ze nor vos er't [er hot] geton!*", '...look, what he has done!'

6. *ya khabī'bi!* = *yā ḥabībī* = "My friend, beloved", which has an entirely different meaning in "*ya khabibi! ot dos heyst gearbet?*", '...is that what you call work?'

7. *ya si'di!* = *ya sīdī* = my Lord!, a respectful term of address (سيد *sīd*, is usually 'grandfather'). On the other hand, as an expression of displeasure, one may hear it in \* "*ya sidi! vosi'dos [vos iz dos] mit dir?*", '...what is the matter with you? what goes on here?'

8. When one says \* "*ya šeykh! s'taytš, vi tut men dos aza min [Heb. יִשְׁרָאֵל] zakh?*", '...how is that, how do you dare to do something like that?', he is not thinking at all of شيخ *šeyḥ*, (or šēḥ) as referring to an "Old man", or a "chief of a Bedouin tribe", or as a title for a venerable man, learned in religious Muslim matters.

Bauer, 98: *jā šēḥ* an einem Stammeshäuptling, auch ehrwürdigen Alten; im ironischen Sinn wird es für jeden gebraucht.

9. Satisfaction or admiration for something well done is heard in the interjection, *ya sala'm!*, as in "*iz dos geven a štikl arbet, ya sala'm!*", 'that was some piece of work, ...'; while Ar. سلام *salām* means 'peace'.

A shade of meaning other than the actual one in Arabic is to be easily detected in the following sayings:

10. 'O, *saba'kh el kher!*' (pronounced *saba'khkher*), in case of an unexpected event or occurrence; while the Ar. *ṣabāḥ el'ḥēr* is actually the greeting 'good morning!'

The same applies to:

11. *ma'rkhaba* = مرحبا *marḥabā* = welcome! (literally: the place is spacious [for you]).

12. *a'hlan usa'hlan* (sometimes heard as *a'khale ve-sa'khale*) = أهلا وسهلا *ahlān wasahlān* colloq. *ahla wa-sahla* = Be welcome! (the common Arabic greeting of welcome).

13. On the departure of an undesirable visitor, or in general dissatisfaction, one may say "ma salame!" (also heard: *ma'rselame!*), conveying the meaning "Good-bye" (with the proper intonation), which is just the opposite of the Ar. *ma' es-salāme* = with peace, in answer to the greeting, *bḥāṭrak* = [I am departing] with your wish!

14. A common word of negation is *mafi'sh* = *mafiš* (also abbreviated to *fiš!*), composed of מאפישי *mā-fī-š[ay]* = there is not a thing, nothing. *mafi'sh masa'ri* = *māfiš mašāri* = there is no money; a common saying among Jews.

From a popular "Halutzim" song of the twenties in Palestine (heard from Meir Roytman, in Migdal, May 1927), I offer the following stanza:

Un dernokh hob ikh cu zukhn  
gelt farn binyan [Heb. בנין 'building'] oder kviš [Heb.  
כביש 'highway'] —  
azoy krig ikh glaykh an entfer,  
az: "masari iz *mafiš!*"

15. An expression of negation is also contained in *bu'kra fi' mi'smiš* = *bukra fi'l mišmiš*, meaning 'never'. *mišmiš* is Apricot (*Prunus armeniaca*), which ripens in the Spring, and quickly disappears from the market. Hence, the meaning of the phrase: "it will never materialize, in vain" (similar to Spanish *mañana*). A parallel Yiddish saying in Jerusalem is "iberayo'r petriške", 'next year, parsley', with the same meaning.

To the interjections employed in their original meaning belong:

16. *taa'l, ta'l hon* = تعال هون —, *ta'āl, — hōn* = come! come over here! Sometimes it is heard, *ta'āl yā...*, followed by an epithet of not too respectable a nature.

17. *u'skut!* = quiet, be silent! is the appropriate word for closing an unruly mouth. *uskut yā...* is also used, as in the preceding case.

BW, 287: schweig! *uskut!* *labbi!* (in unfreundl[ichen] Ton).



18. *kha'las!* = *ḥalaṣ!* = Finish, bring to an end, accomplish, stop. Here are some characteristic phrases:

- \* vos redste? *khalas*, berey'gez [Heb. בְּרִינִי sullen, morose], gevorn l'oylem vo'ed [Heb. לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד?], 'Is that so? *ḥalas*, is he forever not on speaking terms with me?
- \* nu, *khalas*, er't [er hot] šeyn opgetaksirt un fartik! 'Well, *ḥalaṣ*, he made up his mind all right (and thinks he has reached a final conclusion).

*opgetaksirt* is the perfect of the infinitive *optaksirn* (with the addition of the suffix *ge*, denoting completion), and goes back etymologically to *tax* = to appraise. Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 235, lists: תַּעֲרֵךְ to tax, rate, v.a. טַעֲקִירָן

- \* zol šeyn kumen a khala's af dir, 'may disease come upon you', is frequently heard in the market-place, where female stall-keepers (in Yiddish: *mark-yi denes*) trade with Arabs, trying to bargain, and shouting "ḥalaṣ! ḥalaṣ!" to settle the final price.

חַלָּאָס (*ḥala's*) is a Yiddish feminine substantive formed from a Heb. word connected with the root חָלָה. Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, III, 1465, lists חֹלֵצָה, but the first reference is from the Rabbinical Responsa בִּיהוּדָה בְּנוֹדָע by R. Ezekiel b. R. Yehuda Halevi Landau (first published, Prague, 1776).

19. "nu, *bala'sh*" = *balāš*, composed of בִּלָּה bilā (balā) š[ay] = gratis, frustra. In its Yiddish form it is used in response to a refusal, as when, for instance, one is asked to do a favor and refuses, the other may say, with vexation in his voice: "nu, *bala'sh!*"

The double explanation, *bala'sh!*, *bala'sh!* is an emphatic rejection, meaning: "I didn't want it!", "Don't talk too much!", "That's all!".

It is also used in the expression *a'khsan min bala'sh* = *aḥsan min balāš* = better than nothing.

20. *bas hat* = *bass hat* = give, hand it over! In the case of a promise which is apparently not going to be fulfilled very promptly, one may hear the challenging phrase:

- \* *bas hat!* lomir šeyn dos zen far di eygn, 'all right, let's see it!'

*bass*, بِاس = enough, is a Persian loan-word in Arabic.

*hat*, *bas!* has a similar meaning.

21. *ha'da hu* = *هنا هو* *hāda hū(a)* = that's that; as you wish; there is no other way. The same is used as an affirmation of an answer that hits the spot.

22. *fa'šar* — This interjection has various meanings in Arabic, the most common of which is "God forbid!"<sup>3</sup> It is used in phrases like:

\* *fašar eyb ikh hob dos geton*, 'God forbid! if I ever did it.'

Bauer, *Das Palästinische Arabisch*, 98, explains: *fašart ätsch!* von *fāšar* mit dem Sinn: deinen Worten kommen die Taten nicht gleich.

Words expressing approval or submission are:

23. *ay, na'am* = *ay na'am* = Yes, certainly. Originally *اى* is a verb of praise: How excellent is ...!

*BW*, 177: ja, jawohl höflich *na'am*, ei *na'am*, sonst *aijwa* (türk) [isch].

24. The same applies to *ko'yes* = *كويس* *kweyis* = well, fine.

25. A less polite form of approval is the colloquial *ay'va* = *aywā* = yes.

26. *mazbu't* = *مظبوط* *mazbūt* = right, correct, exactly (especially in approving the correct amount of money).

27. *takht a'mrak* (also pronounced *u'mrak*) = *taht amrak* = at your command, which conveys the readiness to serve, to be obedient as the usage denotes.

*BW*, 47: zu [Befehl] *taht il-amr!* od[er] *amrak* (jā sīdi)!

28. A similar expression of obedience is *a'la ra'si* = *على الراس* *'alā rāsī*<sup>4</sup> = upon my head, namely, your words are dear to me. It denotes responsibility also, as in the phrase:

\* *az kh'zog dir ala rasi*, megste *zakh af mir farlozm*, 'If I tell you *ala rasi*, you may rely upon me.'

29. The same is true of *a'la ra'si va'la ay'ni* *على الراس والعين* *'alā rāsī w'alā 'ayni* (literally: upon my head and upon my eye) = with pleasure.

*BW*, 354: mit [Vergnügen] (steh ich zu Diensten)! *'ala rāsī u'ēni!*

3. *BW* 72, lists: "ätsch! *fašart* (du konntest ja nicht, iron)[isch]."

4. Also pronounced *'a rāsī* by the Arabs of Jerusalem and the vicinity (Löhr, 1).

30. Similar to it in meaning is *a'la raba'ti* = 'ala rabaṭi = upon my neck. رابطة, *rabṭa* means literally, necktie, and figuratively — neck.

31. Amazement in response to a question is expressed by *i'lla* = يلى 'illā = 'what, then?' as in the phrase:

- \* — *geyst gornit in šule?*, 'aren't you going to school?,  
— *illa!*, 'what, then?' (cf. who? me?)

32. A common warning, heard on almost every occasion, is *ste'na!* = istenna = wait, stop. It is a mixed form, combining the second and tenth conjugations; like '*istrayaḥ*. (Cf. Löhr, 52).

33. Corresponding to it in meaning is *švo'ye-švo'ye* = شويه šway-šway = slow. It is more commonly combined with the preceding in *ste'na švo'ye* = istenna šway(e) = do not rush! be patient!

34. A stronger warning is contained in *dir ba'lak* = dīr bālak = take care (literally: turn thy heart, from Ar. دور = to turn). It is especially given as a warning when danger is ahead (Cf. BW, 285), or when one would like to achieve an effective result.

See also BW, 372: [vor]gesehen! iṣḥa! ū'a! ō'a! dīr bālak!; 385: vorsichtig zu [Werk] gehen dār bālo.

35. As an answer to it, one may hear *male's!* = ma'lēš, composed of *mā 'alayh(i) šay* = never mind (literally: there is nothing to it). Thus, one may say:

- \* *maleš*, s'et'em [= es vet im] gornit nit šatn, 'never mind, no harm will come to him'.

36. *mušla'zem* (also: *mišla'zem*) is an emphatic expression for "there is no need", "I (we) will do without". *mušla'zem* is composed of *muš* [= mā hū šay] *lazim*.<sup>5</sup>

37. *khali* = خلى ḥallī = let [him], which is used colloquially to form causative imperatives, in Yiddish is commonly added to a challenge, e.g.:

5. The expression *muš durūri*, which has the same meaning and is commonly used in colloquial Arabic, does not occur in Palestinian Yiddish.

- \* *khali*, zol er, a'derabe [Talm. Aram. אִירָבָא, contraction of עַל דְּרִיבָּה, turn to the stronger side], 'let him, on the contrary!'
- \* *khali*, zol er geyn gezunterheyt!, 'let him depart in peace, God be with him!'

38. Similar in its use, but different in meaning is *khaya'lla*! — حَيَّ اللَّهُ *hayallā* = let it, it does not matter; in phrases like:

- \* *khayalla*, zol dos geyn!, 'let happen what may.'
- \* *khayalla*, zol dos geyn af gots barot!, 'let it be at the mercy of God!' <sup>6</sup>

6. *BW*, 54, lists: "beliebig *hajalla*."

## CHAPTER II

GREETINGS, GOOD WISHES, OATHS, CURSES,  
ABUSIVE WORDS

The influence of the daily contact with Arabs on the Ashkenazim is evidenced again in the following group of usages which penetrated into their language. It is an addition to a similar group in Yiddish, already rich in greetings, curses, and the like, but it bears the imprint of Palestinian localism. This is especially apparent in the use of expressions compounded with *allāh*, which is pronounced automatically and without conscious recognition that it is the Arabic designation for *God*.

This group includes, among others, the following expressions:

39. *inša'lla* = إن شاء الله 'in šā' Allāh (pronounced inšallāh) = if God permits, Deo volente. Usually it is an invocation added by the Arab to any promise he makes, but in Palestinian Yiddish it does not possess the same degree of sincerity as in Arabic (Cf. Lokotsch, 59, c).

40. *a'lla kari'm* = Allāh karīm = God is generous.<sup>7</sup> It may be heard, for instance, in something like,

\* *alla karim*, got vet helfn!, '...God will help!'

41. *kha'mdulala'* = الحمد لله el-ḥamdu lillāh = thanks be to God. However, in the phrase

\* nu, vi geyt dos dir? — *kha'mdi dralala'*, 'well, how do you fare?'

7. A drama in Hebrew, depicting life in Palestine, entitled אללח כרים by L. A. Orloff, appeared in New York, 1918.

the expression *kha'mdi dralala'*, in answer to the question, is in its nature one of derision.

42. *a'lla yati'k* = Allāh ya'tik = May God give you! is an answer to beggars sent away by one who refuses their plea, or who has nothing to give.<sup>8</sup>

Beggars, who are plentiful in Jerusalem, and come mostly from among the Oriental Jewish communities, are called *khandradžes* (etymology?), and *sidaka's*, the latter being the plural of *šidaqa'* for Heb. שְׂדָקָה (alms, charity), so pronounced by the Oriental Jews. It is perhaps derived from Ar. صدقة *šadaqa* = alms to the poor.<sup>9</sup> Phrases, which I have noted, are:

- \* *di khandradžes zaynen šeyn do!*, 'the beggars are already here'.
- \* *r'z'gekumen [= er iz gekumen] mit di kh...*, 'he came along with his rags' (by which the word *khandradžes* is also explained).
- \* *mame! a sidaka šteyt in droysn*, 'Mother, there is a beggar outside.'
- \* *es geyt šeyn a ma'khne [Heb. מַחְנֶה] sidaka's!* 'a host of beggars are approaching'.

43. *dakhi'l alla* = *daḥil Allāh* = for God's sake (literally: I take refuge in God), heard, for instance, in:

- \* *dakhi'l alla, tu mir šeyn amol dem maaru'f* [Ar. *ma'rūf* = favor], 'For God's sake, do me this favor already'.
- \* *gey šeyn revers, dakhi'l alla, vos šteyste?*, 'For God's sake, back out, why do you stop?' (in a phrase from drivers' language in Jerusalem).<sup>10</sup>

BW, 388-389: *um Gottes [Willen] daḥil allāh, daḥl ālla*.

8. Cf. T. Canaan, "Modern Palestinian Beliefs and Practices relating to God", *JPOS*, XIV (1934), 74.

9. I am now convinced that *sidaca* came via Ladino. In Ladino-texts from Constantinople, we read: "son sedakeros... ke dimandan *sedaka* a los pasažeros" = These are beggars... who beg alms from the ones passing by (Wagner, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judenspanischen*, 79).

10. For quite a different use of *daḥil Allāh*, see T. Canaan, *op. cit.*, 74.

Usages expressing a *wish*, are heard in:

44. *dakhi'lak* = دخلك *daḥlak* (also: *daḥīlak*) = I ask you [literally: (I ask) your refuge].

\* *gey, dakhi'lak*, štel zich šeyn farn o'med [Heb. עמוד *prayer-stand* in the synagogue], 'Please go and take your place at the prayer-stand' (heard in the colony Rōš Pinah, in Upper Galilee).

45. *tfa'dal* (also: *tfa'ddal*) = تفعل *tfaḍḍal* = Please come in, take a seat, help yourself.

\* *tfaddal*, a'drabe [see above, 37\*], mitn grestn ko'ved [Heb. כבוד *'honor, respect'*]!, 'Please, on the contrary, with great respect! (used here in the form of a challenge).

46. When one is asked to perform a service, or to do a favor, he is addressed with *min fa'dlak* = من فضلك *min faḍlak* = Please, I ask of you [literally, فضل means superiority, excellence, favor, grace].

47. A similar wish is expressed by *bikhya'tak* = biḥyā-tak = upon your life.

\* *bikhya'tak*, tu mir a tey've! [Heb. טובה *'favor, kindness'*], 'Upon your life, do me a favor!'

48. A particle expressing a wish, impossible of fulfillment, is *yare't* = yā rēt = May it be that!, would that! I wish it were!, as in the phrase.

\* *yare't*, kh'volt geven baron rotš'ld!, 'I wish I were Baron Rothschild!' [whose name, because of the fabulous riches of his family, symbolized the wishful thinking of the impoverished Jewish masses throughout the Diaspora].

1. An Arab proverb on building a house teaches: *yā rēt mā banat walā bēt* ... "(The word) 'O may it be' has never yet built any house."<sup>11</sup>

2. In a Samaritan wedding song in honor of the bride, we hear [here transliterated from Hebrew]:

11. T. Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House*, JPOS, XIII (1933), 20.

"yā rēt 'umbāarak 'ala min šarāh", 'O that, she blesses him who bought her.'<sup>12</sup>

The etymology of this word is rather interesting: The Arabic particle ليت layta, used with the accusative (as in the phrase ليت الشاب يعود Please God, that youth might come back), has, by leaning upon رأي rā'a (= opinion) become rēt, and with the addition of the usual vocative yā — yārēt,<sup>13</sup> namely layta > \*rayta > \*rayt > rēt > yārēt.

Among oaths, curses, and abusive words, there are:

49. vola' el-azīm = والله العظيم wallāh el-'azīm = By God the Almighty!

50. bikhya't (also: vikhya't) a'lla = biḥyāt Allāh = By the life of God.

51. eyb ale'k = عيب عليك ēyb 'alēk = shame on you!

\* eyb ale'k, megst zakh (zikh) šemen! (A repetition in Arabic and Yiddish of 'shame on you!').

52. Similar to it, is ekhs ale'k! — aḥs 'alēk. Ar. خزي ḥaza = to fall into disgrace, أخزي aḥzā = to disgrace. It is a word of contempt commonly heard among children when they fall out among themselves while playing. They say:

\* ekhs ale'k, tfu zolste vern!, 'Shame on you, fie on you!' ['zolst vern' is a reflexive form, and in this phrase it literally means, 'O may you yourself become shame!'].  
Bauer, 98: iḥṣ oder tfū pfui! tfū 'alēk pfui über dich!

53. A mean abusive word is i'lkhas ti'zi = ilḥas ṭīzi. Ar. لحي = to rob, ṭīz = rectum.

54. ye'khrīb'e'tak = yeḥrib bētak = May your house be ruined!

It is interesting to observe that an Ashkenazi Jew, following the manner of the Arabs, would not mention the word Allāh while cursing in Arabic. Thus, he would say 'yekhri be'tak' and not "Allāh yeḥrib bētak" = May God etc.

12. Moshe Nisani, "Concerning Samaritan Wedding Customs (Hebrew), *Zion* (Bulletin of the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society), Nos. 8-10 (1931), 19.

13. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, (Strassbourg, 1904), 12, n. 3; Löhr, *Vulgararabische Dialekt*, 5.



55. It is common among Arabs to curse one another by *yil'an* (and by metathesis *yin'al*) *dīnak* = Cursed be your religion. Jews curse in a like manner, but they take good care not to use it against Arabs. For contravention, one might, in accordance with a government ordinance, draw heavy fines.

56. *yila'n abu'k* = *yil'an abūk!* = Cursed be your father!, and to strengthen the effect, *yila'n abu'-abu'k* = ... your grandfather!, is also uttered. A threefold curse I heard in the expression:

\* *ikh'l* [= *ikh vel*] *dos oysfirn ina'l abu'hu afi'le*  
[Heb. אִיחַל אָבִי אִיחַל אֲבִי אִיחַל אֲבִי 'even if'] *ven er heyngt*  
*zakh uf* [oyf] *siti'n se'ne usabi'n yom* [Ar. *sittin*  
*sene usab'in yōm*]!, 'I will succeed, cursed be his  
father, even if he hangs sixty years and seventy  
days!'

57. *kus u'mak!* = *quss 'ummak* = slander (Ar. نَسِي your mother!), and in a more disguised form — *kus mart abu'k* = *quss mart abūk* = slander your father's wife.

The same abuse applies to another female member of the family, to one's sister, in *kus u'khtak* = *quss 'uhtak*.

In all these foregoing curses, *quss* signifies a sexual intention, namely: to fornicate.

I recall an experience with an Arab *'attāl* (porter) in Haifa, Palestine. He had to carry my luggage from the station in Nazarin Street up to the Jewish quarter Hadar Hakarmel. After we agreed upon the price, he started to climb the stairs leading to the 'Hadar'. It was a hot midsummer day, and as he realized that he still had a long *mišwār* (distance) before him, he soon became restless, backed out of the "transaction", and stopped at almost every step. Perspiring as he was, he let me know, in an unmistakable manner, that unless I would increase his pay he would not continue to climb up. I refused, reminding him that the "*wāḥad kilme*" (last word) was his and not mine. Angered at this decisive argument, he uttered with disgust, "*quss uhtak!*", whereupon I answered him: "*fišū 'uht!*" (I have no sister!), and — it worked instantly. "*šāṭēr 'inte!*" (You are all right!) was his answer, knowing that by it I had "disarmed" him completely, and that by letting him know that I had no sister, his slanderous curse would have had no effect anyhow.

One should not be surprised that so many abusive expressions and curses were taken over by the Ashkenazim from

Arabic. We might well explain the fact by an influence of a psychological character: that what is *strange*, is more *effective*. Here is an illustration of it, concerning a certain butcher in Jerusalem, who was well known to all his female customers:

It sometimes happened that R. Yekhi'el [Heb. יֶחֱיֵאל] the butcher would become very angry. He would then thunder with his voice and would curse the religion of his troublesome customers in Arabic.<sup>14</sup>

To the abusive words, some of which penetrated into Arabic from Turkish, belong the following, denoting among other things certain immoral categories. Of these we will mention:

58. *akru't* = 'akrüt = villainous person, an outcast, an agent of sexual immortality (BW, 181 lists: "Kanaille... 'akrüt").

\* r'iz [er iz] an *akrut*, 'he is an outcast.'

\* gey hob cu ton mit di *akari't*, 'try to have dealings with these villainous persons.'

59. Similar in meaning are *dayu's* = dayyūs (heard in the Arabic saying 'yā ibn ed-dayyūs!') and *tara's* = ta'rās (from نمریس = ta'rīs).

60. Still another word of the same category is *ars* = عرس 'arş = an "Alphonse", an agent for prostitutes, who takes his "share".

\* '...un zi hot zach šeyn ir *ars*, vos šart ir cu kundn, 'and she already has her agent, who is procuring customers'. 'arş is probably an alliteration of عرس  
'ars = a bridal wedding, which has an ambiguous meaning.<sup>15</sup>

61. *karakha'n* = karaḥān [a word of Turkish origin] = disorderly house, hence the abusive *karakha'ndže* — karaḥāngi, applied to a man of immoral character (*ġi* is a Turkish suffix). [BW, 69, lists: Bordell *karaḥān*|e F(ellchisch *čirḥān*|e.)]

\* amol is dos geven a mil; haynt iz dos a *karakha'n*, 'some time ago a mill was here; nowadays it is a disorderly house' — I was told by a Jerusalem Jew

14. Ephraim Cohen-Reiss (see n. 47, p. 114), 24-25.

15. Cf. Musil, *Arab. Petra*, III, 312; Littmann, *Zigeuner Arabisch*, 83.

pointing to the mill built of stone, in the quarter Yemin Moshe, in 1895 in honor of Sir Moses Montefiore, ten years after his death.

62. *rasubra'snik* = *rās(u) birās* ( راس براس ) plus the Slavic suffix *nik* = homosexual, pederast. Cf. No. 72.

It is noteworthy that with Bedouins *rās birās* has quite another meaning: it denotes the transaction that the Bedouin makes when giving his beautiful daughter in marriage in exchange for a mare of fine and distinguished breed, which is always highly priced and praised.<sup>16</sup>

63. *šarmu'ta* = *šarmūṭa* = harlot, prostitute. In Ar. dictionaries listed under شرموطه ; BW, 173: Hure *šarmūṭa*: *šarāmiṭ*; BW, *ibid.*, lists five additional synonyms in Palestinian colloquial Arabic.

See also *Omissions and Corrections*.

Expressions of abuse of a more general character are:

64. *naua'r* = نوار *nawār* = gipsy, but used in the meaning of rude person, ill-mannered (BW, 401, lists under *Zigener*: 'Schimpf: *jā nūri*!')

- \* *wos iz er? a nauar iz er!*, 'What is he? a rude one he is!' [the plural is here used instead of the sing. *nūri*].

According to Littmann, *Zig. Arab.*, 33, it is not pl. from the sing. *nūri* or *nawari*, and following de Goeje, he maintains that "In Wirklichkeit kommt der Name wohl aus Indien, wo ein Stamm in Nepal *nawar* heisst" [further discussion and literature, *ibid.*].

65. *mua'zzar* — معزر *mu'azzar* [from عزر *'azzara* = to insult] = insolent, impertinent person, as in:

- \* *er iz eykh geven a mua'zzar*, 'he was also an insolent man.'
- \* *er iz a mua'zzar a'uel-el-bab* [= ... *auwal el-bāb*], or *a'uel e-da'radž* [ed-darağ], 'he is an impertinent person of the first degree'.

For the purpose of 'settling an account' with a quarreling party, Arabs used to hire a 'mu'azzar'. It originates in an ancient custom in time of war

16. Ellahu Epstein, *The Bedouins, their Life and Customs* (Hebrew), (Tel-Aviv, 1933), 30-31.

where the victorious opponent would be the one with an efficient mu'azzar silencing the enemy camp.

See also *aza'ren*, No. 133.

66. *malau'n* = ملعון *mal'ün* = accursed, but used also in the meaning of outcast, as in:

\* er iz a *malau'n a'uel-de'n* = he is an outcast among outcasts. [*den* = corruption of *dün*; رجل دون 'vile man'; *BW*, 234: niederträchtigkeit... *danāwe*].

67. *ava'ntadži* = Turk. *awanțaği* = adventurer, plotter, swindler (*BW*, 132, 1: "Gauner... *awanțaği* (türkisch)"). Turk. *awanta* also used for 'frivolity, mischief' in colloq. Ar.

\* du binst šeyn eynmol an *avantadži!*, 'You are a..., all right!'

68. *baše'te*. It is a specific nickname in Yiddish in Jerusalem, meaning "a thief; a shrewd fellow". The pl. of it — *baše'tes*; a diminutive, *baše'tkes*, is also heard.

\* oy iz dos a *bašete!*, 'He is some thief!'

It originates from a family of Arabs by the name of *bašeṭ*, first residing on "ci'yener [Heb. צי'נער plus suffix of gentilic *er*) barg", Mountain of Zion, and later in the old city, Jerusalem, where its members engage in selling coal and in house-painting. In addition to these 'legal trades', they are known to be small-time thieves, committing larceny, and petty swindlers.

Concerning this family of Arabs, who acquired, among others, the Yiddish language, we read in the memoirs of Ephraim Cohen-Reiss (see n. 47 p. 114) p. 58:

"Before my eyes appear the steady guests of our street, the Arab speculators of the Bashet-family, who speak Spanyolish and Yiddish fluently, leading behind them their victims, the camel drivers with their camels overloaded with big oversized sacks of coal, or grape sellers from the vicinity of Jerusalem and Hebron, trying to cheat them in prices and weight..."

69. *bukhma't* [Turkish etymology?] = a rude fellow; impolite; of a rough character. — See "Omissions and Corrections".

\* a *bukhmat* iz dokh dos!, 'He is no more than a...'

70. *nakhs* = نحس *naḥs* = ill-luck, distress, hindrance (BW, 341, 1: Unglück... *naḥs*; ...Unglück bringend *niḥis*). — Cf. No. 238.

\* er šteyt mir far a *nakhs*, 'he stand beside me as a hindrance', is said of one being a person's ill-luck at games.

\* avek fun mayne eygn, du *nakhs* eyner!, 'Get out of my sight, you *nakhs*!'

71. *ni'džes* = نجس *niğis* = Filthy, impure, unclean.

\* oy iz dos a *nidžes* (also: ... a shtik *nidžes*)!, 'What a dirty character he is!'

Gypsies are called *ni'džes*. Arabs use it for naming a filthy dog (while a woman in child-bed is named *niğse*. — BW, 343).

In the Qurān (Sura 9:28), it is used against non-believers أَما المشركون نجس 'only the non-believers [who join gods with God] are unclean'.

72. *pušt* = Turkish *pušt* (Arabs shout: *bušt*!).

According to Lokotsch, 1673, it is of Persian origin = "scortum sodomitocum", a Sodomite. In Yiddish it is used for a licentious person, debaucher, rude fellow. The pl. is *pušta'nes*. — Cf. No. 62.

\* dos iz geven a *khe'vere* [Heb. חברה = society, company, gang] *pušta'nes*, 'They were a gang of rogues'.

73. *pezevi'ng* — Turk. *pezewing* = an outcast.

\* dos iz a štik *pezevi'ng*, 'He (or she) is some outcast'.

74. When the 'thesaurus' of abusive words has been completely exhausted but one still wishes to express his anger, he utters, \* *bizt* [binst] a *greyser kha'ra* = خراء *ḥarā* [Heb. קרי] = Excrement, or, in addition to it, *kul kha'ra*! = eat dung [Cf. II Kings 18:27, לֹא־אָחֲזִיקֶם for which the Masorites substituted צוֹאתָם ], meaning: shut up! <sup>17</sup>

17. Cf. Löhr, 108 (No. 1).

## CHAPTER III

WORDS EXPRESSING QUALITY, CONDITION  
SOCIAL STANDARD

75. An expression denoting something of little value or entirely valueless, is *s'iz* [es iz] *zift* = زفت , pitch [Heb. נפץ whence in Palestine Heb. slang נפץ with the same meaning]. By saying "*kul id-dunyā zift*", 'the whole world is of pitch', the Arab violently manifests his dislike for everything on earth, which is no more than 'vanity of vanities'.

As in many other cases, a Yiddish *pointe* is added here: Should a man's surname begin with *Rozn-*, 'roses', there is no better opportunity for derision than to change the ending of it to *zift*, e.g. "kum nor aher, du *Roznsift*!", 'Come here, you *Roznzift*!' which takes the place of *Roznzajt*, *liter.* 'juice of roses'.<sup>18</sup>

It is common to use the names of Turkish coins no longer current, to denote qualities of no value. Accordingly one may hear:

76. \* *er iz keyn kaba'k nit vert*, 'He (it) is not worth a kabak'. Kabak = large, heavy coin of copper, the actual value of which was less than the nominal.

A quotation in a Yiddish weekly in Palestine reads:

*ziet der idišer kremer a gancen tog cunoyfgeleygt di hend un lekhet nokh a kabak pl'dyen* [Heb. פדיון 'ransom, redemption', but in Yiddish — the amount realized on a sale],<sup>19</sup> 'All day long the Jewish groceryman sits, his hands folded, languishing for a sale of a kabak'.

18. I am thankful for this remark to my friend Daniel Leybl, Yiddish-Hebrew Philologist, of Jerusalem, Israel.

19. *Der Pa'rdes* [Heb. פארדס ], published by the Sephardic Jew S. J. Cherezli, author of a *Jewish-Spanish-French Dictionary*, (Jerusalem, 1898), No. 6 (Jerusalem, 1911; in my collection).

77. \* na dir a *sakhtút* far dem, 'I will pay you a s' for it.' *sakhtu't* = *saḥtuṭ* = half a kabak.

Here is a quotation stating its value:

The price of copper coins this year was reduced by half, and the "*saḥtuṭ*" which last year was worth a quarter of a kopyka [a Russian Czarist coin; 2 kop. = 1 cent], is now worth no more than an eighth of a kopyka.<sup>20</sup>

78. \* un a *pa're* volt ikh far dem gegeben?, 'Would I pay for it even one pare?'; \* zey hobn nit keyn *pa're* mit vos durkhcukumen a tog, 'They do not even have a pare to get through a day's livelihood'. *Pare* = the smallest Turkish silver coin which was in circulation. In Ar. it is pronounced *bara*. — See also, *pare*, No. 396.

The buying-value of the *pare* is shown in the following excerpts from historical (and literary) sources, beginning with the first half of the seventeenth century:

1. In 1641 we hear from a Karaite pilgrim in Egypt, on his way to Palestine, describing the conditions of travelling: "And they [the Arab ship owners] took one piece, namely one Egyptian para [duty] for each camel."<sup>22</sup>
2. 1650. — From the itinerary of R. Moses Porges of Prague:  
"And wherever para is mentioned here, it is a silver coin, three of which equal two *Pacin* [= Patz = 4 Kreuzer]. And one Leybn-Taler [= Löwen-Taler] equals thirty pares."<sup>23</sup>
3. 1700. — "And we buy the four limbs [of a lamb or goat] with a coin called, in the Turkish kingdom, para [the writer spells it פֶּרַעַה, an allusion to a popular etymology connecting it with *Pharaoh*?] which is equal to about five Polish Groshn [in Heb.

20. David Yellin, *Selected Writings* (Hebrew), vol. I (Jerusalem, 1936), 109. The quotation is from correspondence of Jerusalem of the year 1896.

21. Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 363, lists: פָּרָה para (small Turkish coin), (pl. o ~) (מטבע קטנה בטורקיה) פֶּאֶרַע.

22. Jonas Gurland, *Neue Denkmäler der jüdischen Literatur in St. Petersburg* (Hebrew), (Lyck, 1865), 4. In a note (*ibid.*, 58) he further explains: "It is the name of a coin, an eighth of our kopyka, and it is called "Egyptian" deriving its name from the nation among whom it is current. Know also that forty para equal one gurs [gruś], equivalent to our five kopyka."

23. דרכי ציון (*The Ways of Zion*), (Yiddish), from the preface, 3.

in appearance because of heavy weight].<sup>24</sup>

גרושן pl. of גרול = Polish Grosz, from the Lat. *grossus*, 'thick'

4. 1760-62. — And this place Sidon is a very fine place, and there is plenty of fruit of all kinds, which I never saw before in my life... And one may buy many lemons for no more than one para.<sup>25</sup>

"And near the city of Sidon I saw the tomb of Zebulun the son of Jacob, may he rest in peace... and whoever wants to visit the tomb, pays a few para to the watchman."<sup>26</sup>

"There is a well near Safed, called Beersheba... there is also another fine well of healing water, and one pays a para for a pitcher [of water]."<sup>27</sup>

5. 1769. — "The duty [which one pays visiting at a holy tomb in Palestine] is not much, the largest being ten para which is six grošn in our money. Sometimes it is no more than five, six, or eight para [This writer too, spells it: פֿרעך !]."<sup>28</sup>
6. About 1819. — In a Yiddish letter from Safed, Palestine, to Tschernowitz (Cernăuți), Rumania, the following prices are quoted:

"Everything could be obtained here in Palestine, and much cheaper than abroad... For instance, a rotl of fine flour, namely an oki and a half [= oko, a weight of three pounds, current in Galicia] 10 pares. A rotl of fine olive oil 10 pares, or 27 אריות (Heb. for Löwen-Taler). A rotl, namely an oki and a half, of rice, 30 pares. A rotl of raisins, 30 paras. Chickens, big roosters or hens, 50 paras each, while smaller ones cost no more than 1 אר' [= Löwen-Taler] each. Fine big lemons, 1 para each, and sometimes 3 for 2 paras... Fine oranges, the largest and the best, 2 paras each, or 2 for three paras... Two eggs for three paras, and sometimes an egg for one para, and so on."<sup>29</sup>

24. R. Gedalye Semyatitsher, *Saalu Selom Yerušalaim*, Reshumoth, II, 470. As another instance (ibid., 488), he cites: "And the fee for a bath is a coin, called in Turkish פֿרעך, about one קיסר גראשין [= Emperor's Groschen]."

25. *Sefer 'Eduth Bi[ye]hosef*, ed. by Y. Ben-Zvi (Jerusalem, 1933), 27.

26. *Ibid.*, 28. In his note to it, Ben-Zvi adds: "para — a small Turkish coin approximately a quarter of a Palestine Mil of nowadays. The Turkish grüş equals 40 para."

27. *Ibid.*, 37.

28. *Sefer Yedey Moshe* (Yiddish), by R. Moshe Yerushalmi, Second edition, edited by A. M. Haberman (Tel-Aviv, 1938), 16.

29. Ph. Friedman, Letters from Palestine (1814-1822), *Zion*, III (1938), 270. The date for the letter cited above is not given, but it follows that written in 1819.



7. 1834. — Lemons and oranges are sold by number, the finest costing five paras, namely one grošn and a half.<sup>30</sup>
8. In a letter, sent from Jerusalem to Zel, Germany, the same year, we read: "Thus I bought . . . one egg for two para, while the price in the cities at that time was 6 para (about one Kreuzer). Now, the price is 3 para an egg."<sup>31</sup>
9. 1870. — "10 paras equal 2 Austrian Kreuzer or one [U.S.] American cent."<sup>32</sup>
10. 1874. — In the regulations of the Jerusalem craftsmen society, 'Po'aley Çedek', founded in 1874, we read concerning the membership-fee: "Each member shall pay a weekly fee of no less than 20 paras in addition to vows and donations as his heart maketh him willing [following Exodus 25 : 2]."<sup>33</sup>
11. 1895. — "The fellah does not worry a bit. Being paid 60 para for the rotl (about 10 centime a kilo), he is highly satisfied with it, adding his well-known saying: il-ḥamd il-alāh (thanks be to God)!"<sup>34</sup>
12. 1915. — I bargained as much as I could. "One hundred Liras", I said, "not a para less!"<sup>35</sup>

Other expressions, chiefly denoting quality, are:

79. *be'ladi* = *beladi* = a native born. — The members of the Old Ashkenazic Community are very particular about marrying within the 'inner circle' of *be'ladis*, native born in one of the four cities of this Settlement (Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed), and not with those "Ḥalutzim" — newcomers, who are considered heretics and non-observers of Jewish traditions. No wonder one may hear:

\* er iz a *be'ladi*, 'he is a native-born'.

\* ir hot a *be'ladi*? *brengt em*, *vel ikh ton dem šī'dakh* [Heb. *האבירך* 'proposed marriage'], 'Do you have a

30. *Sefer Koroḥ ha-Ittim*, 21b. There, the writer, R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenicer, quotes: "One para equals one third of our grošn; one toler is thirteen and a half grošn, equalling forty paras."

31. Abraham A. Bergman, see p. 105, n. 32.

32. Simon Berman, *מסעות שמעון* *Reisebeschreibung im heiligen Lande* (Krakau, 1879), 109.

33. *The regulations of the Society* *צורק* (Yiddish Section, Jerusalem, 1875), 18.

34. From an article entitled "The fig-tree in Palestine" (Yiddish), in *האביר דער קאלאניסט*, *Quarterly for Agriculture*, edited by Manasseh Meirovitsh and Abraham Moses Luncz, vol. II, 1 (Jerusalem, 1895), 40-41.

35. A[aron] Reuveni, *Berg un Viste* (Yiddish Poems) (Jerusalem, 1915), 106. He is also the author of *שם חם ויפת* [reviewed by W. F. Albright, *Kirjath Sepher* (Hebrew), X (1933), 28-29].

native-born? [a match-maker is asked], well, bring him over, and we will enter the marriage agreement'.

BW, 92: einheimisch bälädi, waṭani.

80. At the same time a native-born is scoffed at with the nickname *sa'bre* — *ṣabre* = cactus fig (See No. 343).

To my question 'Why exactly *sabre*?', I received the following answer from a Safed Jew: The prickly fig, the fruit of the cactus, is covered on the outside with prickles, but it is juicy inside. The same goes for a native-born, who could be compared to it: he is perhaps impudent, he may be inclined to prick and may have a sting in himself; however, within he is full of good deeds and benevolence...

81. *imka'yef* = *mkēyif*, from colloq. Ar. *keyif* to be well inclined, good humored, cheerful. (Cf. BW, 49, under *behaglich*; Löhr, 125).

\* er iz ništ *imka'yef*, 'he is not well-disposed (to do something).

82. *imta'rmakh* = *mtarmah*, from colloq. *ترج* to sadden, to grieve, to be gloomy, discouraged.

\* er iz epes haynt *imta'rmakh*, 'He is somewhat discouraged today.

83. *bata'l* = *baṭāl* (from *باطل* to be reduced to nothing, to be of no avail) = "finished", as in:

\* er iz šeyn *bata'l*, 'He is finished'.

84. Similar in meaning is *talfa'n* = *talfān*, literally, a dying, sick person, but in Palestine colloquial it means 'dotard' [Cf. BW, 321: totmüde *talfān*].

\* er iz šeyn *talfa'n*, 'He is already a dotard'.

85. The designation for a pauper or for impoverishment is *tafra'n* = *ṭafrān* *طفران* 'penniless'.

\* *vo'lla* [*wallāh*], *ikh bin tafra'n*, 'By God, I am penniless'.

BW, 26: [arm] elend mäsken: masäkīn; ṭafran; du Armer! jā mäsken.

86. More intensive in degree of poverty, is *maski'n* = *meskin* (liter. *مسكين*; Heb. *מְסִינִי* which goes back to Acca-

dian *muškēnu*; it penetrated also into Romance languages, as Italian *meschino*, French *mesquin*, Spanish *mezquino*. Cf. Lokotsch, 1470) = poor. It is used with a notion of derision in:

- \* *nebakh a maski'n, zog mit em aney'nu!* [Heb. אנני "answer us", the name of a prayer said on fast-days or on emergencies proclaimed by the community], 'It is a pity! he is poor, say with him [the prayer of] aneynu!'

87. Different from its usual meaning in Arabic, is *khava'dža* = خواجه *ḥawāḡa*, Persian loan-word in Ar., a title given to Christians, corresponding to that of English Mister (Mr.), French Monsieur, German Herr (also used in the meaning of: a gentleman).<sup>36</sup> — Cf. Lokotsch, 850. In Palestinian Yiddish, it is always used in a lightminded tone, e.g.

- \* a gancer *khavadža* iz er gevorn, 'He became haughty' (is said of one who puts on airs).  
The same applies to
- \* er iz a gancer *khavadža*.

*ya khava'dža* is also heard in a meaning other than in Arabic *yā ḥawāḡa*. Bauer, 98: *jā ḥauāḡa* in der Regel an einen Europäer: O Herr!

It is correctly used in its plural: *khavadža't* = *ḥawāḡāt*.

- \* *zest nit, az di khavadža't zaynen šeyn do?*,  
'Don't you see, that the prominent people are present?'

88. Similar to the preceding in its meaning, is *mua'lim* = m<sup>u</sup>'allim = master, skillful man, in the phrase

- \* er iz a gancer *mua'lim*, 'He is some master'.<sup>36a</sup>

For its use as architect, master, and supervisor on masonry, see No. 370.

36. A literary pseudonym of Moshe Smilansky, a Palestine Hebrew writer, is חוג'ה מוסה (Khavaḡa Musah), which he began to use in a series of novels depicting the life of Arabs, בני ערב (Children of Arabia), published first in *Ha-Omer* (Jerusalem, 1908).

36a. In connection with it, the word *usta'z* = Persian *ustād*, Turkish *ustāz* = master, is also heard (and used in the same meaning as in No. 7 and 8, above, in phrases with *ya ustaz*).

89. *dže'da* = *gēdā* (from *جاد* = to be excellent, to make a thing well) = clever man, brave, as in:

- \* er iz a *džeda*!, 'he is brave', but with derision in:
- \* eykh mir a *džeda*!, 'a pretty specimen of a brave man!' — See Omissions and Corrections.

90. *ša'ter* = *šātir* [liter. *شاطر* 'sharp, cunning'] = clever, industrious, also: tricky fellow, hence: *šata're* = *شطارة* *ša'tara* = a trick (liter. cunning, deceit).

- \* eykh mir a *ša'ter* cum *tiš*, 'a pretty specimen of a tricky fellow (to be invited) to the table.'
- \* kuk nor on dem *ša'ter*! *hoste gezen dem ša'ter?*, 'look at this šater! have you seen this šater?'
- \* er wayzt mir a *šatare*, 'He shows me some trick.'

91. *sa'kheb* = *صاحب* *šāhib* = friend, companion.

- \* šeyn eyn mol a *sa'kheb*!, 'Some friend!'

92. *šaba'b* = *شاب* *šabāb* (pl. of *شاب* the sing. is never used in Palestine Yiddish) = jolly guys, rascals. [liter. *شاب* is a young man from 16 to 30].

- \* ta der [ot o der] *frenkl* is geven fun di *šaba'b*, 'This *frenkl* [diminutive of *frenk* = Sephardic Jew] was among the rascals.'

93. *šabani'n* = *شبعانين* *šab'anin* = satisfied, pleased.

- \* do iz dokh gor a mekha'ye [Heb. *מְכַחֵה*, Pi'el participle]; ale zaynen do *šabani'n*, 'It is a pleasure here; all are satisfied.'

94. *yam fi dž'a'ra* = *يَام فِي جَرَّة* *yām fī ġarra* = (put it) into (the) earthenware jar — is used of a stingy man.

This saying originates in the habit of the Arab, and especially of the fellah, to place his savings in a *ġarra* and bury it in the ground, being distrustful of banks. Such jars, full of silver coins, are occasionally found while digging foundations or in excavations.

- \* er? er vet oysgebn a toler? ba em iz dokh *yam fi dž'a'ra*!, 'He? would he spend a piaster? with him it is *yam fi džara*.'

95. *rašī'm* = غشيم *ghašīm* = inexperienced. [BW, 200: Laie; 339, unerfahren].

\* *r-i-dokh* [= *er iz dokh*] a *rašī'm*. 'He is inexperienced'.

96. *madžnu'n* = مجنون *mağnūn* = furious, mad, one in a paroxysm of rage.

\* *mešu'ge umetu'ref ki loy'lom kha'sdey* [Heb. משוגע ומטורף כי לעולם חסדו 'mad and insane (Participle passive of Pi'el מטורף), for His mercy endureth forever (a travesty of the popular refrain in Psalms, e.g. Ps. 106: 1)]; *madžnu'n kha'las* = completely mad.

For foolishness, or to designate foolish people, the following words are employed:

97. *te'mbel* = *tenbel*, a Turkish loan-word in Arabic<sup>37</sup> meaning lazy man.<sup>38</sup> Here it is used in the meaning of stupid fellow, dumb.

\* *az m'sikt aza te'mbel, ken šeyn epes aroyskumen?*, 'What result may one expect, if such a stupid fellow is sent [on a mission]?'  
 \* *oy iz dos a tembel!*, 'He is dumb all right!'

98. *tes-imta'yas* = تيس *tēs*, liter. he-goat, pl. *tuyūs* = stupid fool.<sup>39</sup>

\* *iz dos a tes-imta'yas!*, 'He is a fool among fools!'

99. *ras ya'bis* = راس يابس *rās yābis* = thickhead (liter. dry head).

\* *er iz a ras ya'bis un ir vet mit em gornit ton!*, 'he is a thickhead, leave him alone!'

37. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen* (Leipzig, 1902), 28-29, relates it to Heb. תפל by saying: "Für die Etymologie des Worts ist es wichtig, dass das Arab. ein تنال, 'Schwächlicher, Elender' besitzt'".

38. Isaac E. Yahuda mentions in his *Judeo-Spanish Proverbs, Zion*, II (Jerusalem, 1927), 94, No. 122 the saying טינבילאנה די אסטאמבול = the lazy people of Constantinople, explaining that the Turkish government once maintained there a special house for lazy people.

39. Bauer, *Palästinische Arabisch*, 230, lists: "jā tēs! Du Bock (starker Schimpf)!" See also BW, 68, under *Bock*.

100. *khaki'm ti'peš* = חֲכִים *ḥakīm* = doctor, medical man; *ti'peš* [Heb. טִפֵּשׁ] = fool — a saying used not only to belittle a doctor whose remedies are of no avail, but also against anyone meddling in one's affairs with his unasked advice.

See also: *pla'khiše kop*, No. 244, *kaleva'sa*, No. 16 (Appendix I).

Words expressing physical appearance, are:

101. *ku'se* = كُوسَة *kūsa* (also: قُوْتَة *qūṭa*) = pumpkin — said of a fleshy, corpulent girl.

\* a moyd — a *ku'se*, 'a girl like a pumpkin'.

102. For a man (but not for a woman!) of small size, the Ashkenazim in Jerusalem have the designation *ku'rdi* كُورْدִי *kurdi*, liter. a man from Kurdistan, Northern Iraq, but here used for the native Jews of that region.

\* *ikh hob gelernt ba yankl ku'rdi'n dem mela'med* [Heb. מַלְמֵד = teacher in *Ḥeder*, elementary religious school], 'I studied under the teacher Yankl Kurdi.'

See also: *kardu'pl*, No. 27, Appendix III.

For additional words expressing physical appearance, see Chapter XV: Additional Arabisms in Palestinian Yiddish.

## CHAPTER IV

## MISCELLANEOUS EXPRESSIONS

In this group are included numerous expressions and usages heard on various occasions, which because of their general character could not be classified in any special group. They are used everywhere, both by the old Ashkenazic Settlement and the new "Yishuv" alike, even though the latter is not yet thoroughly acquainted with the Arabs.

To these usages belong, among others, the following:

103. *kif kha'lak?* = كيف حالك *kīf ḥālak* = How are you? (liter. How is your state [of health etc.]?). To this question, answers of varying degree and content could be expected, e.g.:

104. *mabsu't* (pronounced *mapsu't*)! = ميسوط *mabsūt* = satisfied, happy, content. It is also used with the meaning: all right (as to state of health), correct (especially when verifying an account of money or change. Cf. also *maḥbūt*, No. 26), and properly, as in:

\* *er iz mapsu't!*, 'He is O.K.'

BW, 309: in guter [Stimmung] sein *mabsūt*, *mkeljif*, *mbartī'*, *mheljjlš*.

It is also an Arabism in Spanish: *mabsūta* > *almoḥṭota* 'tendido' (Arnald Steiger, *Contribución a la Fonética del Hispano-Arabe y de los Arabismos en el Ibero-Románico y el Siciliano*, (Madrid, 1932), 351.

105. *bsir khe'r!* = *bšir* (from the auxiliary verb صار to become, to happen) *ḥēr!* (liter. خير 'well') or *bšir ko'yes* = *bš'ir kwey'is* كويس, liter. beautiful, both employed with the meaning: everything is all right!, do not worry!

106. *nus kher, nus kha'ra* = nuṣ(f) ḥēr, nuṣ(f) ḥarā = both favorably and badly off (liter. half well, half dung. For ḥarā, Cf. No. 74).

An Arab proverb says: "Kif ḥālak? miṭl et-tin fil farde" = like the figs in the sack [on the back of the camel, which are being pressed and spoiled].<sup>40</sup>

107. A similar answer is: \* *es iz min ta'kht umin fo'* = min taḥt umin fō(q) = from below and from above.

108. *ka'tar khe'rak* = kattar ḥērak = may He increase thy goods (property), but here in the meaning of: Thank you! It may also be used as an answer to unasked advice. — *kattar* stands for *yikattar*.

109. *a'la ke'fak* = على كيفك 'alā kēfak = as it pleases you (Cf. *BW*, 54. *belieben*, and 134, *gefallen*), but in Yiddish used as splendid, excellent, as in:

\* *s'iz gor a'la ke'fak!*, — or with an addition:

\* *s'iz gor a'la ke'f-ke'fak!*

110. *a'la kis el-baro'n* = 'alā kīs el barūn = At the expense (liter. pocket) of the Baron.

The "baron", mentioned here, is none other than Baron Edmond de Rothschild whose name "is indissolubly connected with all the greatest achievements of the Jews in Palestine."<sup>41</sup> Much of his money for the Jewish colonization in Palestine was spent by his local representatives as philanthropy, which aroused criticism and it is here that we have to look for the origin of this saying, current even today.

111. *a'la baba'la* = 'alā bāb Allāh = at the mercy of God (liter. at the door of God). In Palestine Yiddish it is employed with the meaning of haphazardly, as in

\* *er raybt a'la baba'la*, 'he eats (liter. he grates) voraciously.

In Arabic it is used for an evasive answer to a question, like "where are you going?" (Cf. Bauer, *Das Palästinische Arabisch*, 231). T. Canaan, known for his writings on Arab folklore in Palestine, has this to say to the same effect:

40. Cf. *ZDPV*, XXI (1898), 147.

41. Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism 1600-1918*, Vol. I (London, 1919), 232.



'bāb 'allāh (the door of God) has a curious use: if one is asked where he is going, and he does not wish to say, he answers 'alā bāb allāh [adding in a footnote: "This word may also be used interrogatively: 'Where are you going?' "], every place being the "door of the Almighty"; no further inquiries are made. This term 'ala bāb 'allāh is also used adjectivally for a "stupid man" or a "simple darwīš," 42

112. Similar to the preceding is *a'la tu'l* = على طول  
'alā ṭūl, liter. at length.

113. A common interrogative is *šu ma'lak* = šu mā  
lāk = what do you want? what is bothering you?

114. To express an inseparable friendship, firm partnership in business, or unanimity, the word *so've-so've* is used. *so've* = سوي or سوا [Heb. שוה] sawā = equal.

\* *zey zaynen beyde so've-so've* = 'both are of one opinion'.

115. A similar expression is *a'na uaya'k* = أنا وإياك  
*anā wāyyāk* = You and I [Ar. I and you]. This is again disrupted in the rhymed saying:

\* *a'na uaya'k* — a flik dir in bak, 'You and I — a slap (liter. tear) in your face' (namely: you don't have to count on our friendship).

116. *miša'n kha'trak* (also: *miša'nak*) = mišan [=min  
šan] ḥaṭrak (Ar. خاطر sake, good pleasure) = for your sake.

\* *ikh tu dos miša'n kha'trak*, 'I am doing it for your sake'.

\* *er tut dos mišan kha'tri* [ḥaṭrī], 'He is doing it for my sake'.

117. *makhsu's* = مخصوص *maḥṣūṣ* = special, especially.

\* *dos iz makhsu's far dir*, 'This is special for you.'

\* *kh'ob* [=ikh hob] *dos makhsu's far dir*, 'I have it especially for you.'

118. *bizza'r* = بأزور *biz-zōr* (but pronounced *bizzār*) = forcibly, by compulsion, unwillingly.

\* *bizza'r, veste dos muzn ton!*, 'You will have to do it, unwillingly'.

42. "The Palestinian Arab House", *JPOS*, XII (1932), 223. For the use of "A la babala" in Provençal, see Max Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenskunde* (Berlin, 1901), 367; Lokotsch, 59, b.

119. The same notion is contained in *ra'sben a'nu* = גמבא'נה *ghaṣban 'anhu* = Against his will, in spite of him (*ra'sben a'nak*, 'against your will', is also heard). [*BW*, 347: Unwillkürlich . . . *raṣib 'anno* (r = gh ג); *ibid.*, 410: Zwangsweise bil-aṣb, *raṣban 'anni* ('annak usw.)].

\* *ra'sben a'nu* veste di zakh muzn ton (meaning as above with *bizza'r*).

\* *ikh muz dos oy'speyeln ba em ra'sben a'n din abu'hu* (Ar. *ghaṣban 'an dīn abūhu*), 'I'll have to get it from him in spite of his father's religion.'

*oy'speyeln* = preposition *oys*, 'out of', plus the Yiddish form of the Heb. participle לַעֲשׂוֹת = to accomplish.

The following usages are current for *favor* or *service*:

120. *tay'ibe* (pronounced: *tay'be*) = טַיִיבֶּה *ṭaiyibe*.

\* *s'ken zayn, azer'ot* [= az er hot] *ba em a tay'ibe*, 'He is probably in his favor.'

121. *maaru'f* = מַעְרُوف *ma'rūf*.

\* *tu mir a maaru'f!*, 'Do me a favor!' [The Arab says: إِعْمَلْ لِّمَعْرُوف 'i'mal ma'rūf!].

*BW*, 134: *Dienst ma'rūf*; *tu mir den ~!* *i'mal ma'rūf*.

122. *džmi'le* = *ḡmile* (liter. جَمِيل good service; Heb. נִזְמוּל 'benefit, recompense').

\* *nor mit a džmi'le ken men ba em epes dergreykhn*, 'One may accomplish something with him, only by doing him a favor.'

\* *er hot ba em a greyse džmi'le*, 'He favors him immensely.'

\* *ikh bet dir a džmi'le*, 'I ask a favor of you', instead of *ikh bet dir a tey've* [Heb. טוֹבָה].

\* *ikh bin em meykh!l* [Heb. מִוֹטֵל 'forgive', also 'forego'] *zayn džmi'le*, 'I do not need his favor.'

123. When one is entangled in a situation causing only headaches, and he is unable to extricate himself, he may say:

\* *vos darf ikh hobn dem u'dža ras* [= وَجَع رَاس *waḡa' rās* = headache?], 'What for this headache?'

*BW*, 193: [Kopf]weh *waḡa' rās*.

124. Commonly heard is \*erhot arayngekhapt a *khazu'k*, meaning he suffered a defeat, he ran into trouble.

The origin of this expression is rather curious, going back perhaps to penal practices of pre-Islamic times: Ar.

خزق *hāzūq* is a pointed pole on which to impale (Ar. خزق *hazaq*) those condemned to death.

It has still to be explained how the colloquial usage *akal hāzūq* = he suffered defeat (liter. he ate a *hāzūq* = he was impaled), originating in a horrible practice, was transformed into a mere expression of innocent content.

From the Old Ashkenazic Settlement this expression also penetrated into the New "Yishuv" and into modern Hebrew: הוא קבל חזיק is an expression often heard, especially in the slang of the school-children along with הוא אכל חרבון equal in meaning to the above.<sup>43</sup>

See also No. 163.

125. When one is being scoffed at, the saying goes:

\* men makht fun im a gance *ma'skhara*, 'He becomes the laughing-stock of the people.'

\* makh nit mit mir keyn *ma'skhara*, 'Do not make nasty tricks.'

*ma'skhara* = مسخرة *mashara* = laughing-stock. سخر من *sahira min* = to mock at someone.

It penetrated into the Romance and other European languages: Sp. *mascarada*, Fr. *masquerade*, and with the loss of the last syllable — the derivative *masque*, *mask*, and the like (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 61-63; Lokotsch, 1436).<sup>44</sup>

It is also found in the Rabbinical writings of authors who lived in Romance-speaking countries. Thus, R. Samuel Abohav אבובי (who lived in Venice, Italy, writes in his Responsa דבר שמואל (Venice, 1702), § 247: פקפוק על מנהג הפרצופים בצורת אדם הנקרא מאסקראש 'Doubt has arisen concerning the custom of using visages (masks) in the shape of man, called *mascaras*.'

My friend, the Yiddish philologist Mr. Daniel Leybl, Jerusalem, informed me some time ago that in his native town, Torne (Polish, Tarnów), as well as in the neighboring town of Dembic (Dębica), both in Galicia, Poland, the words *ma'sgere*, *ma'skere*, were current in Yiddish, originating from Polish *maszka'ra*.

43. No such neologism is listed in the dictionaries of modern Hebrew, the closest to it in meaning being the Mishnaic חָרַבָּן

44. BW, 214, lists: "maskileren libis *mashara*." Cf. my article "Notes. 1. A few Words about *miškare*", *Yidishe Shprakh*, VI (1946), 126—128.

126. A spectacle, a show given gratis, a kind of "free-for-all" fight arousing the curiosity of the bystanders, is a *fu'rdže bala's* = *furže balāš*. (*BW*, 272: Schau *furže*, mandar [mandar]). — *furže* = from *فرج*, *فرج* to look with pleasure at. *balāš* — See No. 19.

127. When talking or arguing without end brings no results, one may react to it by saying \* *s'iz a khama'mbele-mo'ye* = *ḥammām bilā moyye* = a bath-house without water, namely, idle words;  
*moyye* is a diminutive in the colloquial Ar. for the classical *ماء* *mā'*.

128. A tumult or riot arousing a crowd is a *kalbeli'k* = Turkish loan-word *قلابالیق* *qālābalīq*, with the same meaning, in Arabic, *غلباني* (which is another Turk. spelling).

\* *es iz a gancer kalbeli'k* — a whole crowd is there.

This word is found in the Ukrainian language, presumably through the Tartar, and from it, it penetrated into the Yiddish of the Jews from the Ukraine and Volhynia.<sup>45</sup>

129. Similarly *kha'rake* — *حركة* *ḥa'rake* (liter. movement), is used for a commotion.

\* *ven nit zey, volt dokh ništ geven di gance kha'rake*, 'If not for them, this whole commotion would not be stirred up.'

130. A great distance, a long way yet to be covered, is a *mušva'r* = *mišwār* (liter. *مشور* = to walk to and fro).

*BW*, 130: Strecke Wegs *mišwār*: *mašāwīr*; e[ine]n [Gang] machen *darab* oder *ṭaraq* *mišwār*.

\* *es iz a greyser mušva'r*, 'It is a long way.'

\* *ikh hob nokh far zikh aza mušva'r*, 'I have still to cover a great distance.'

Contemptible expressions concerning a crowd are:

131. *su'rbet ilkla'b* — *surbet* (liter. *سربة* Flock of sheep, great number) *ilklāb* = pack of dogs.

45. Cf. M. Weinreich, *Adequate Words (Yiddish)*, *Jiddiś far Ale* (Monthly devoted to Yiddish philology, published by the Yivo), II (1939), 50, and notes [by Noah Prilucki, noted Yiddish philologist, murdered by the Germans in Vilno, in the summer of 1941], *ibid.*, 128. See also Lokotsch, 645.

\* dos iz eyn *su'rbet ilkla'b*.

BW, 242: Partie Haufen surbe; surab; Partienweise surbe-surbe; 286: Schwarm surbe.

132. *zil-iltra'b* = zēy it-turāb (= تراب ) = (as many) as sand, dust.

\* zey zaynen dokh *zil il tra'b*, 'They are as numerous as sand.'

Some common usages, heard in daily life, have as their compound, Arabic verbs, which were changed to the moods and tenses of the Yiddish verbs (See pp. 132-133 above). Among these are, for instance:

133. *aza'ren* — from عزر 'azara = to blame, to reprove, hence in Palestine Yiddish *aza're* = reproof, pl. *aza'res*.

\* er hot im *aza'ret*, 'He reproofed him.'

\* men hot im gemakht an *aza're* (pronounced: a naza're!), 'He uttered a reproof against him!'

\* kh'hob nakher [nakhher] azelkhe *aza'res* in štub, 'As a result, I have to suffer painful effects from my family'.

See also: *mua'zzar*, No. 65; *dale'len* — See No. 248; *dame'nen* — See No. 217; *de'bken* — See No. 249; *džare'khen* — See *džara'kh*, No. 378; *kaye'fen* — See No. 414; *kha'dževen* — See No. 415; *khadže'zen* — See No. 204; *khake'men* — See No. 202.

134. *khala'ken* (the l is palatalized!) — from حلق ḥallaqa (liter. to smooth: Heb. חלק Hiph.) = to cut the hair, to shave (the head), [Lokotsch, 802; BW 254: rasieren ḥalak].

This expression has a special use. The *khala'ke* = ḥallaqa ("opšereniš" in Palest. Yiddish) is the well-known custom of cutting the hair of little children for the first time in their lives. This is performed on ל"ג בעומר (pronounced *lag bey'mer*), 'the thirty-third day in Omer' (Heb. עֹמֶר sheaf, connected with the "forgotten sheaf" in Deut. 24:19), the eighteenth day of the month of Iyyar, in itself based upon the Biblical command of ספירה, counting fifty days from Passover to the Feast of Weeks (Lev. 23:15-16). It takes place in the little village of Miron, near Safed, where, according to a popular tradition, the Tanai R.Šim'on b. Yoḥai, to

whom the authorship of the Kabbalistic work, the Zohar, is ascribed, is buried. The festive occasion on that day is called הלולא דרבי שמעון בר יוחאי, 'The feast of R. Šim'on b. Yohai', a Talmudical expression (in Ketuboth 62:2) substituted later by the Kabbalists for the day of the departure of his soul.<sup>46</sup>

The ordinary word for utting the hair is *šern*, *opšern*, but not *khala'ken*.

The following is an account of this festivity, described by R. Menaḥem-Mendl Kamenicer:

On Lag beymer many Jews of many cities assemble themselves in the city of Safed, and from Safed they proceed to the village of Miron at the tomb of R. Šimon b. Yohai... In the evening the "yorcayt" [the anniversary of death] of R. Šimon b. Yohai is observed. It is called הלולא the festival of R. Šimon b. Yohai... In the morning they pray, afterwards many Psalms are recited and they dance the "beygl-tanc" [the dance of the rondeau] in honor of R. Šim'on b. Yohai, may he rest in peace.

The little children whose hair has to be cut for the first time — the cutting of which does not take place at home — wait for the occasion of the festival of R. Šim'on b. Yohai. The women come along with their little children and each one brings a large candle, the size of the child. The Ḥakham begins to cut the hair and the mother finishes, leaving only side-locks. The same is performed on the eve of the thirty-fourth day of the 'Omer, in honor of R. Eli'ezer, the son of R. Šim'on b. Yohai, whose resting place is there too. On the third night they proceed to the tomb of [the Tanai] R. Yoḥanan Ha-Sandlar [the shoemaker], where a pillar stands, and the same is performed there too.<sup>47</sup>

135. *khare'ben* — from خرب ḥarab = to ruin, to destroy.

\* er hot mir *khare'bet* dem gancn ey'sik [Heb. עסק occupation, business, affairs], 'He ruined my whole business'.

BW, 400: Zerstören ḥarab.

*sade'ken* — See No. 200.

136. *šale'khen* (the l is palatalized!) — from شلح šalaḥ = to reject, to throw off.

46. There is quite an extensive literature on this custom. For a later account, cf. Yosef Braslawski, What is the background of Lag Ba'omer in Miron (Hebrew) in his book *Hayada'ta et Ha-Arec?* (Ain-Harod, 1940), 43-51, and about the festive songs on the same occasion, 52-59.

47. Sefer Koroṯh Ha'ittim (Yiddish), 18b—19a.

- \* er hot *šale'khet* dem ey'sik, 'He rejected the transaction.'  
*tale'ben* — See *bolisi'ye*, No. 205.  
*ža'ren* — See No. 261.

137. When rival gangs, for instance, are at odds and a free-for-all brawl breaks out, one may hear the interjection *u'drub! u'drub!* (Imperative of ضرب *darab* [Heb. צרב ] to strike), encouraging both parties 'to slug it out!'

138. In brawls like these one may often use a *nabu't* = نوب *nabbūt* = a stick, with a thick "head", carved of heavy wood.

*BW*, 310, explains it as "Stock der Kameltreiber", but as a rule, no Arab fellah or madani, especially from among the *šabāb* (See No. 92), will leave his own home limits without carrying a *nabbūt* with him.

139. If a *nabbūt* is not available, a *kurba'č* (pl. -es) = *kurbāḡ* = Turk. *qyrbāč* = whip, comes in handy. (Cf. Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 50-51); *BW*, 243: Peitsche *kurbāḡ* [saut].

This word is found in the Slavic languages (Lokotsch, 1279) and through them (presumably from Polish *korbacz*, or colloquial Russian *korbač*) it penetrated into Yiddish abroad.

\* mit *kurba'čes* hobn zey em ceharget [prep. *ce* + Heb. הרג 'to kill', hence to beat up, to maim + suffix -et], 'They beat him up severely with whips.'

Cf. also No. 165.

140. When one is late for an appointment, or when one is not in a hurry to come, people say: \* men darf nokh em *šikn* a *dala'l* (= ڤال *dallāl* = Public crier, broker, auctioneer [Cf. Lokotsch, 473]), 'We have to send the public crier for him,' namely — we will send a special messenger for him.

*BW*, 38: Ausrufer *munād|i*, *dallāl*.

141. A perquisite, additional income, or a profit in addition to the stated price, is *bara'ne* or *baranu'vke*. Both originate in Ar. برا *barrā* (which is both adverb and interjection) = out, outside, and with suffix — براني *barrāni* = external, outward. *baranu'vke* = *barrāni* + *uvka* (pronounced

in Yiddish: *uvke*), Slavic suffix for fem. diminutive. One may hear, for instance:

\* du host šeyn arayngekhapt *bara'ne*?, 'Have you made (literally 'araynkhapn' = to take in) an additional income (an extra dollar).'

\* host epes haynt gemakht a *baranu'vke*?

142. In addition to the common word *gelt* for money, one may hear *masa'ri*, and especially *masa'res* = *maṣārī* (مصري) *maṣrīyāt*, which is a collective in Arabic.

\* her zikh akoršt ayn, greyt cu *masa'res*!, 'Listen, you better have your money ready!'

\* cu dem darf men hobn a sakh [Heb. *נפ* 'amount'] *masa'res*, 'One must have much money for it.'

143. A considerable capital to invest in an undertaking or the like, is a *rasma'l* = رأس مال = *rāsmāl* = capital-stock.

BW, 182: Kapital *rāsmāl*; das ~ *rās il-māl*.

144. A word of common use, without which no one in the Orient is able to accomplish anything to his satisfaction, is the well-known *bakšiš* = *baḥšīš* = bribe, bribery, and the one enjoying it, is the *bakšīšnik*.

It is a Persian loan-word *baḥšīš* = gift, present, also known, in its meaning above, in European languages (Lokotsch, 178).

\* er hot gekhapt a *bakšiš*, 'He accepted (liter. *khapn* = snatch, snap) a bribe.'

Other words of general usage are:

145. *va'khad ki'lme*! = *wāḥad kilme* = in short (liter. one word), especially if one is sick and tired of bargaining, he may say: \* *kha'las, va'khad ki'lme*, that being the last word in the transaction.<sup>48</sup>

146. *nasi'b* = نصيب *naṣīb* = fortune, luck, is used when one speculates in a transaction, or while taking a chance.

48. BW, 206, lists for the colloquial Arabic: "das letzte Wort *āḥir kilme*."



\* er't [er hot] gekeyft a štub af *nasib*, 'He bought a house at his own risk', namely, the house is not worth the price paid for it, but its value may increase if, for instance, an adjacent highway will be built, and one might therefore speculate on it.

\* s'iz a *nasib*-zakh!, 'It is a matter of luck!'

BW, 150: zum Glück lännašib (Schicksal).

The ordinary word for luck is *baht*, and an Arab proverb says: a'tini baht u'irmini fil-baħr, 'give me (good) luck, and throw me into the sea; (Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, II, No. 2166).

147. When something is concluded successfully, the blessing *mabru'k* or *ba'rake* = with luck (good luck; مبروك for مبارك liter. blessed) is heard.

148. *bilma'ite* = بالمايت bi'l maiyit (or ميت mayyit) = dying, is another expression used in business circles when one thinks that he is being deceived in a transaction. The notion of assurance, contained in it, may be derived from a saying such as:

\* *bilma'ite* iz dos vert a cvancik pyaster, 'Even at its worst it is worth twenty piasters.'

149. Of thick, coarse cloth, the saying is: \* grob vi a *kheš* (= خيش hēš = Coarse cloth made of the worst of the flax, whence — coarse tent, sack) = thick as a sack (BW, 266, lists: "v[on] groben Stoff *kīs fäll* od[er] *hēš*.").

150. Of a plump girl, the saying \* šeyn eyn mol a *tuz*! (for Ar. طيز ṭīz = hind part), is commonly heard.

BW, 142: Gesäss, lists the following colloq. Arabic words: ṭaraf, maq'ade, warrānijje, ordinār ṭīz.

151. When an argument arises, the discontented party may say: \* na dir a *kha'mse fi ay'nak* (= خمسة في عينك ḥamse fī 'eynak = Five [fingers] in your eye) = I am giving you the fico. It is an expression of abuse which the dissatisfied demonstrates by stretching out his full hand forward.

For quite another meaning of *kh'amse* — see No. 262.

See also: Omissions and Corrections.

152. Of the same derivation, but with a different meaning, is the saying \* host šeyn *opgekha'mset*?, 'Have you signed already?' (liter. Have you already put down your five fingers?).<sup>49</sup>

*huba'l* — See Ch. XIV, Folk Medicine, No. 454.

Of expressions connected with *climate* or the *phenomena of nature*, I have noted down the following:

153. *khamsi'n* = خمسين *ḥamsin* — a hot wind, blowing from the East (whence its name *šarqīyye*, or *hawa šarqi*, the Eastern wind, from شرق East, to which the English *sirocco* is related) during fifty (Ar. *ḥamsin*) days in the Spring (Littmann, *Wörter*, 33; Lokotsch, 807, 1856), bringing with it a fine sand which penetrates everywhere. It is the Biblical קדים mentioned in Hosea 13: 15: יהוה ממדבר עלה, "An East wind shall come, the wind of the Lord coming up from the wilderness." It comes at the end of the rainy season or late summer when the temperature of the ocean is the same as that of the landmass.

\* *aza khamsi'n gedenken šeyn nit afile* [Heb. אפילו 'even'] *alte layt!*, 'Even old people do not recall a khamsin like it!'

Arabic dictionaries explain *ḥamsin* as a "hot wind of Egypt" (J. G. Hava, *Arab-English Dictionary*, 185), or "a hot southerly wind in Egypt" (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 262). However, in Palestine it is known among Arabs as an Eastern wind. Since it blows from the desert, Ayyalon-Shin'ar, מלון ערבי-עברי ללשון הערבית (Jerusalem, 1961<sup>3</sup>), 99, explain it as "a hot wind from the desert."

154. *ze'lzele* = زلزلة (also: زلزل) *zelzele* = earthquake.

\* *m'et zakh* [= men hot zikh] *ongeheybn cu treyslen vi ba a ze'lzele*, 'We began to shake as at an earthquake' — Old people tell of their experiences of times past when they used to ride in a 'diležans' (diligence), stage-coach, from Jerusalem to Jaffa.

BW, 104: [Erd]beben zälzäle, a[uch] zänzäle.

49. Or it is perhaps a metathesis of אָפּגעקאָממעט = *o'pgekhasmet* (*op-ge* + Heb. חתם 'to sign' + suffix *-et*).

155. *fartu'ne* = فرتونة = *Fortuna*, storm, tempest — Italian loan-word in Arabic, Turkish and Greek.

\* *afn* [oyfn] *yam* [Heb. ים] *z'geven* [iz geven] a greyse *fartu'ne*, 'A storm raged at sea.'

See also *ba'khradži*, No. 381.

156. *šala'l* = شلال *šallāl* [Heb. שלולית] = flood, inundation (BW explains, 262, Rinfall, and 378, Wasserfall by *šallāl*).

\* *der šala'l t'em* [hot em] *faršlept het-vu*, 'The flood dragged him away, far-off.'

\* *m'iz arayngekrokhn in a greysn šala'l*, *der vogn t'zakh* [hot zikh] *ibergekert un er iz nebakh dertrunken gevorn*, 'They were engulfed in a deep flood, the wagon turned over, and he, alas, was drowned'.

157. *va'di* = واد *wādi* [Biblical נחל] = a brook which dries up in the summer. The Yiddish plural is *va'dis*.

In addition to all these words and usages interwoven in the daily speech, one may hear whole Arabic phrases and proverbs used on various occasions, some of which follow:

158. *i'le fat mat* = illi fāt māt = that which is past is dead, — is said when one recalls things past or something settled long ago.

159. *kho'tu fil khordž* = huṭṭ fiil ḥurğ (خرج) — put it into the saddle-bag, namely: don't bother, it's none of your concern (Cf. BW, 416; Löhr, 108).

160. *tavi'l* (also: *tawi'l*) *al-asna'nak* = طويل على سنائك *ṭawīl 'ala snānak* = this is not for you (liter. It is too long for your teeth), it is beyond your reach, don't be hasty.

BW, 382: weit entfernt (das von dir Erträumte, häufig *ironisch*); *b'id 'a lihitak oder ṭawīl 'a snānak* (von deinem Bart, von deinen Zähnen)!

161. *il-ša'ter* (also: *ša'tare*) *bil faṣi'le* = il šāṭir (šāṭāre) *bi'l faṣi'le* (= فضيله *faṣi'le* 'bargain'; فاشل *fāṣal* = to make a bargain with someone) = Do not back out (liter. 'the deceit is at [your] bargain').

162. *ste'нна yagdi'sh da-ye'tla elkhašiš* = (i)stanna yā kdīš ta yiṭla' il-ḥašiš = do not divide the spoil before it's captured (liter. wait, you nag [jade], until the grass sprouts), be patient, do not hurry. — Cf. Löhr, 110, No. 42.

*Bauer*, 234, lists the following variant: unṭur jā kdīš ḥatta jitla' il-ḥašiš. Warte, Klepper, bis das Gras wächst, d.h. bis du es erreichen kannst.

163. *a'ual ba'khtak — ku'rse ta'khtak ; ta'ni ba'khtak — khazu'k ta'khtak* = auwal baḥtak — kursi taḥtak; tānī baḥtak — ḥazūq taḥtak = At your first luck — thy chair is under thee; at the second luck — mischief is under thee. — This proverb is used when one remarries and ill-luck is foreseen.

*baḥtak* — from عت baḥt, a Persian loan-word in Arabic = happiness, good chance, luck [BW, 150: Glück... *baḥt* (*emtiḥ*). ḥazūq خازوق — See No. 124.

## CHAPTER V

## ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS

This group of administrative terms reflects to a large degree the legal status of Palestine, especially under Turkish rule, as can be attested to by the numerous judicial terms; and simultaneously it demonstrates the extent of the influence of this status upon the Ashkenazic Settlement and its language.

It may be said without exaggeration, that in no other country where Jews lived did they have to deal with as many government agencies as in Palestine under the Turks. As soon as a Jew set foot on the soil of the "Holy Land", he faced at each step administrative difficulties, which were the more complicated as a result of special privileges bestowed upon religious communities, such as the various Muslim and Christian denominations, and because of the Capitulations in favor of the European governments.

Over all this intricate system stood the centralized body politic of Turkey with the Sublime Porte at its head. Turkey's domination over Palestine, which first constituted one out of five *paşaliks* and later was included in parts of the Beyruth or Beirit and Damascus *wilayetes* (provinces) together with the autonomous *sanğak* (gouvernement) of Jerusalem, lasted four hundred years; but only in the final eighty or ninety years did the influence of the Turkish government indeed manifest itself and leave its mark on the country.<sup>50</sup>

50. The following summary is based upon reading in: Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Pesth, 1836), especially vol. II; Duncan B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (London, 1903). Partly antiquated, but has sound points; D. Ben-Guryon and I. Ben-Zvi, *Palestine, Past and Present* (Yiddish), (New York, 1918) with valuable judicial data on Palestine under the Turkish rule; *The Legacy of Islam* (espe-

Together with the administrative-political set-up, Turkey also introduced into Palestine, as into its provinces, its legal system which is based chiefly upon the *fiqh*, the practical part of the *šarī'ah*, the Muslim religious law (literally 'the straight way') which regulates relations between man and man and which fitted perfectly the theocratic government system of Turkey where the Sultan, the ruler of all Ottoman subjects, was, at the same time, the *ḫalīfa*, the vicar of the prophet Muḥammad, and the *imām*, the universal ruler of all the *mu'minīn* 'Believers, Faithful' (i.e. Muslims).

However, the Muslim religious law — based upon (1) the Qurān, the *aṣl al'uṣūl*, the origin of origins, (2) the tradition (*sunna*) of the prophet, (3) the commentaries of the first commentators (the so-called *muḡtahidīn*, from *iḡtihād* 'struggle, effort' [of the learned men]), and upon (4) the analogy (*qiyās*) to similar cases already mentioned in the Qurān — could not satisfy the complicated needs of modern times. As a result, due mainly to the pressure of European powers, judicial reforms began in Turkey, branching out in two directions: first, a code of religious civil laws, *meḡellet aḥkām el-'adile*, was prepared during the years 1869-1877, designed for all Ottoman subjects, including non-Muslims, and second, by way of reception, new laws were introduced by adapting French civil and penal codes in addition to numerous judicial enactments concerning economic and fiscal matters.

Besides the codes of religious law and the state ordinances, official recognition was granted to the religious courts of non-Muslim religious groups (e.g. Jews, Greeks, Armenians) and other denominations (Maronites, Druzi, etc.). Observing the principle of the *šarī'ah* *لا إكراه في الدين* 'no compulsion in matters of religion', the Turkish government honored the principle of freedom of religion as the basis of the national-personal autonomy which Jews enjoyed fully, together with other non-Muslim religious groups. They were granted the

cially the chapter on "Law and Society", D. de Santillana); *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (The articles on *Fiqh*, II, 101-105; *Kharāj*, 902-903; *Shari'a*, IV, 320-324); John Hope Simpson, *Palestine*. Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development (London, 1930).

right to organize themselves into an official community  
يهودي ملتي 'Jewish nation', recognized by Turkish state law.

It is now evident why official recognition was first granted to the Sephardic Jews who were among the first to arrive in considerable numbers in Palestine already under Turkish rule. It was from among them that the ḥaḥām bāšī (Chief Rabbi) was recognized as the official representative of the "Jewish nation", whose function was to be the mediator between the Jews and Constantinople, or the deputy before the local government administration

As for the status of the Ashkenazim, it was in many respects different from that of the Sephardim. Not being Ottoman subjects, the majority of the Ashkenazim enjoyed the privileges of foreign subjects protected by the so-called Capitulations of the foreign powers, resting upon the international legal principle of extraterritoriality. Such a person under protection of a foreign power was named *ḥimāye* (protection) and was subject to paying taxes additional to those of an Ottoman citizen, in accordance with the measure laid down in the šarī'ah for the "Infidels".

These ḥimayāt (or *khma'yēs*, as known among the Ashkenazim) faced great difficulties when carrying out land transactions. Here they had to deal with a complicated system of laws concerning land-transfer introduced by the Arab Caliphs who declared the largest part of the land of conquered countries to be government property (أراضي ييب المال *araḍī bēt ilmāl*) in contrast to the taxable land (أراضي خرجية *araḍī ḥaraḡīye*) of the non-Muslims. With the occupation of Palestine the Turks introduced the same system, with the modification of classifying the land in five main categories (a division which is still extant in Palestine): 1. *mulk*, 2. *mīrī*, 3. *waqf*, 4. *matrūka*, and 5. *mawāt*.

1. *mulk* (ملك 'ownership') is complete private possession, as the English 'freehold', the owner of which may dispose of the land as he wishes without restriction by the government. He may till, sow, plant, and build upon it or leave it untouched.

2. An altogether different category is *mīrī* (abbreviated from أراضي أميرية *araḍī 'emīriye*, 'crown lands'). It is the

absolute property of the government which an individual may hold and use on condition that he cultivates it so as to assure the government of an annual revenue. In case this condition is not observed for three successive years, the land returns to the government, the holder losing his rights in it.<sup>51</sup> *Mīrī* land is transferable (one may sell it, give it away or mortgage it) but may not to be inherited through testament or be declared as 'waqf'.

3. *waqf* (وقف, pronounced *va'kef* by Ashkenzsim) is land bequeathed as a pious bequest for purposes of maintaining religious institutions or for charity. The *awqāf* (أوقاف, pl. of وقف) are divided into *ṣaḥīḥ* (صحيح), perfect waqf, being mulk land, and *ghair ṣaḥīḥ* (غير صحيح), imperfect w., which is *mīrī* and belongs to the state.

waqf-ground is not to be sold absolutely in an irredeemable sale, but it may be rented or given in exchange for another parcel of ground of no less value and income derived from it.

The largest areas of *awqāf* belong to Muslim and Christian religious institutions, the owners of which are, among others, the ḥaram of Hebron (the *מַעְרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה*, 'Cave of Machpelah', in Jewish tradition), the Mosque of 'Umar in Jerusalem, and the Greek-Catholic and Armenian convents.<sup>52</sup>

Jews own very few waqf-parcels and in the main they rent this designated ground or buildings erected on it by the religious institutions mentioned above, paying high rentals.

In the regulations of the Jewish quarter Meah Še'arim in Jerusalem, Jewish waqf is defined as follows:

51. According to the land laws of the British Mandatory Government in Palestine, *miri*-land is redeemable upon the condition of paying the value of the uncultivated ground. If the former holder forfeits his right, the land is sold by public auction (Simpson, 23).

52. In December 1921 the Palestine Mandatory government issued an order creating a Supreme Muslim Council in the composition of which the government was to have no voice and over whose administration of the *awqāf* (which the council supervises) the government would have no control. This latter was exercised by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Ḥaḡ Amin el-Ḥusseyini, in his capacity as President of the Council, an office to which he was elected in 1922. In the year 1936 he controlled *awqaf* funds amounting to £ 67,000 (\$ 335,000). (Cf. *Palestine Royal Commission Report*, London, 1937, 178).



"No kušan (sales-deed) shall ever be handed over to anyone on buildings such as synagogues, houses of study and adjacent courtyards or [public] furnaces, pool of ritual immersion and the hospices but they shall be dedicated property (vakef) in accordance with state-laws." <sup>53</sup>

4. *matrūka* (متروكة 'abandoned') is ground corresponding to *bona vacantia* which is not to be privately owned, and is designated for public benefit, as for highways, communal pasturage, etc. No individual may sell it, or transfer it to another.

5. *mawāt* (موات dead) is uncultivated land without private owner and is situated at such a distance from a locality that no loud human voice could be heard. <sup>54</sup> Ownership is vested in the State and a person who cultivates it is entitled to receive the deed on it free of payment.

A further category, besides those mentioned above, is the *mušā'a* (مشاع common), cultivated land owned in common by the whole village (resembling perhaps the *bona activa*) each ḥamule (family) using but not possessing a share. Once in two years the larger lots are divided into smaller parcels, which often results in quarrels among the fellaḥīn.

It is obvious that so intricate a legal system, making for the subdivision of land holdings, must lead to complicated legal procedures and it is little wonder that litigation was a conspicuous activity of the Jewish community in Palestine. This is in turn reflected in the Yiddish language of the Ashkenazim, which incorporated Arabic and Turkish juridical and administrative terms, some of these disappeared together with the regime from which they derived and consequently belong to the category of words which have vanished from the vocabulary. They are recalled only by people of an older generation whose remembrance goes back to the vicissitudes of their life under the Turks, with whom plentiful "bakšiš" was the only way to come to terms.

53. *The Book of Regulations of Meah Se'arim* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1889), 27.

54. In accordance with a court decision this distance was defined as one mile to one mile and a half (Simpson, *Report* [Hebrew edition], 24).

We may now pass to the administrative terms included in this chapter, where they are divided as follows: 1. officials, 2. legal documents, 3. administrative institutions, 4. taxes, 5. miscellaneous expressions, 6. words which have disappeared from the vocabulary.

### 1. Officials

In a country like Turkey, where almost everyone had dealings with government agencies, it was natural that officials with excessive power should be known to the public, especially those with whom one came into daily contact. In importance the *Sultan* would naturally come first, but he was far away in Constantinople, while the lower ranks of officials were on the spot. Consequently, the following officials were well known to the inhabitants:

164. *buli's* = בוליס *būliṣ* (also *bōliṣ*) = Police constable (officer in U.S.), a name deriving from the French police, originating in Greek politeia, the city (polis) government. The police itself is *bolisi'ye* (See No. 205).

*BW*, 248: Polizist *būliṣ*, *bōliṣ*: *būliṣijje*.

165. *khaya'l* = خيال *ḥayyāl* = Horseman, gendarme. The pl. is *khaya'les* while in Ar. it is خيالة *ḥayyāle* (from خيل horse).

*BW*, 140: Gendarm ('askari) *ḡanadırma*; *ḥaijāl*: -e.

\* 1. fir *khaya'les* darf men araynšikn, voltn zey cukarbačevet az es volt fun zey ken so'rid upo'lit [Heb. שְׂרִיד וּפְלִיט 'a remnant and fugitive'] nit geblibn, "They only have to send four gendarmes to whip them all right, and nobody will remain".  
 2. di araber hobn eykh gešikt zeyere *khaya'les*, "The Arabs also despatched their gendarmes."<sup>55</sup>  
 3. 'In the evening... they would walk together along the streets, with sleepy wrinkled faces, disheveled hair, barefooted, shabby, unwashed, "just like the Turkish *khayaln*", the settlers would say jokingly.'<sup>56</sup>

55. *Pardes* (Bi-weekly, See note 19, p. 153), No. 7.

56. A[aron] Reuveni, *Untern Vand* [= 'Behind the Wall'] a Yiddish novel depicting the life of the Jewish watchmen, (Jerusalem, 1911?), 22.

166. *a'skar* = عسكر 'askar = soldiers, military. They were especially known and recognized from their shabby uniforms and at drilling places. Ottoman subjects among the Ashkenazim, however, were acquainted with the name in connection with a special tax they had to pay instead of serving in the Turkish army (See *bede'l askari'ye*, No. 216).

167. Among the military ranks the best known was the *šavi'sh* = شاوليش šāwīš, from Turkish *čāwuš* = sergeant.

168. *gafi'r* = غفیر ghafir (from غفر to watch) = escort, guard, but especially night-watchman, also — special policeman.

169. *imfe'tiš* = متش [i]mfe'ttiš (from فنش to inspect) = City-inspector of sanitation.

BW, 192: [Kontrol]leur mfättiś, Beobachter murāqib. \* ven es geyt farbay an *imfe'tiš* und zet'os — voltn zey šeyn zikher gehat a raport, "If a city inspector should pass by and notice it — they would get a report all right."

Among the supreme and high officials the Ashkenazim knew or heard about the following:

170. *sulta'n* = سلطان sultān, a word of Aramaic origin (Lokotsch, 1945) meaning *authority*, and then *ruler*.

The exact function of this despotic Turkish ruler was unknown to the Ashkenazim, and the closest idea of him was arrived at from a comparison with the Russian *key'ser*, Czar [Aramic קיסר in Yiddish] and they named him "terkišer keyser", i.e. the Turkish *Czar* — a title known in the Yiddish popular literature as well.<sup>57</sup>

171. More popularly known was the *pa'sha* = Turkish pāša (from the Persian *padišah*), Arabic باشā bāšā = excellency. It was the highest title bestowed upon a military or civil official or an honor given to dignitaries and citizens in high esteem with the Ottoman government.<sup>58</sup>

57. Thus we find in *Sefer Yedey Moše*, the itinerary of R. Moshe Yerushalmi: "Once a year he [the Pasha of Damascus] goes to Palestine to collect from the officials the taxes belonging to the sultan, namely the Turkish Czar [...dos iz der terkiše keyser"] (Tel-Aviv edition, 1938, 49).

58. In the Turkish republic this title was reserved for the higher military ranks only. It was entirely abolished in 1934 and instead *general* now is used.

The pāša in the past was the highest official known to the public at large and to the Jewish community in Palestine. To him representatives would come pleading for the repeal of an onerous order, the plea backed by sizeable bakšiš. Even now he lives in the memory of the older Ashkenazim who recall tales of days past.

The name pāša penetrated into Yiddish popular literature through historical accounts and tales from the Orient, as may be seen from the following excerpts:

1. Each year a Turkish official, sent by the Turkish king, arrives in Jerusalem — may it be rebuilt and reestablished speedily in our own days — to collect all the revenue belonging to the king from Palestine and adjacent countries. These officials are called in Palestine *pašah*.<sup>59</sup>

2. Once upon a time a pāša arrived in Palestine, who is called in Yiddish general ("es izt amol eyn *baši* gikumen nokh erec-yisroeyl, der vert giheysn oyf taytš eyn yeneral").<sup>60</sup>

3. And as soon as the people of Safed — may it be rebuilt and reestablished speedily in our own days, Amen! — heard about it, they went to the [Russian] consul and registered the names of all the Ashkenazim in his book of records and they were exempted from all the taxes which they owed to His Excellency the *paša*.<sup>61</sup>

172. *vizi'r* = وزیر *wazīr* = Minister of State, from Ar. *wazara* = to carry (a burden) while *wizr* = heavy load.

Littmann, *Wörter*, 23, notes to it: "Der oberste Minister des Kalifen oder des Sultans ist der *Wesir*; sein Amt stammt aus dem alten Persien, aber der name ist Arabisch und vielleicht einem persischen Worte angeglichen und in dieser Form dem Abendlande übermittelt" (Cf. Lokotsch, 2160).

In Hebrew and Yiddish historical literature the *grand vizir* is especially known.

173. *kaymaka'm* = قائم مقام *qāim maqām* (liter. successor), the administrative head of a *qada*. — The administrative division of Turkey was as follows: ولاية *wilāyet*, province, with a وال *wāli*, governor-general; سنجاق *sanjaq*, sub-

59. Šaalu Šelom Yerušalayim, *Rešumoth*, II, 469.

60. *Sefer Yedey Moshe*, 18.

61. Ph. Friedman, Letters from Palestine (1814-1822), *Zion*, III (1938), 272.

province, with a *mutaṣarrif*, governor;<sup>62</sup> قاضي *qaḍa*, province with a قائم مقام *qāim maqām*, lieutenant-governor; ناحية *nāḥiye*, district, with a مدير *mudīr*, district-officer (but Cf. below, No. 174) and of a قرية *qarya*, village, with a مختار *muḥtār*, ('chosen', representative) (See No. 175).

174. *mudī'r* = مدير *mudīr*, manager of a government office.

BW, 82: Distriktsvorsteher ḥākim: ḥukkām; mudīr: -in.  
\* ikh hob geret mitn *mudī'r* aley, 'I personally spoke to the ...'

175. *mukhta'r* = مختار *muḥtār* (liter. chosen) = elected local representative of a village or city-quarter responsible to the government and his electors. It is an office which requires cooperation with government officials in maintaining public order, collecting taxes like 'uṣr (tithe), verko, etc., and issuing personal identification documents, validated by the *muḥtār*'s seal. He is therefore the official best known to the populace.

\* er iz a *mukhta'r* fun štetl, 'He is the m. of the quarter [= štetl],' a usual query being: in velkhn štetl veynt ir?, 'In what quarter [of the town] do you live?'

176. *ra'is* = رئيس *rayyis* = Chief, especially used for the chieftain of a gang of highwaymen roaming the mountains of Jerusalem, Nablus and other highways leading to the cities.

BW, 161: Häuptling rajjis: ruasā.

177. An official not included in the administrative ranks, but whose presence was nevertheless well known to the majority of the Ashkenazim in need of the protection of their consuls, was the *kava's* (variously spelled in English kavass, cavass and cawass) — Consular guard, and also bodyguard for heads of religious communities.

It is the Arabic قواس *qauwās* = bow (Ar. قوس) — maker, and with the introduction of modern weapons — *gunman*, and hence — *bodyguard*. From Arabic it became a loan-

62. According to BW, 305' "dr. engl. [Statthalter] in Pal[ästina] el-mandūb es-sāmi der früher türkische *mutaṣarrif*," but the former title is wholly different.

word in European languages (Littmann, *Wörter*, 24; Lokotsch, 1140).

The following is a description of the Jerusalem gauwāsīn in the nineties of the last century:

"In front of the community heads march their gauwāsīn in their special attire: woollen trousers in the form of a wrinkled sack, their loins girded by a wide reddish belt, and on the upper part of their body they have a plate interwoven with threads of gold and silver, and sleeves attached to it for decoration only... In this manner the gauwāsīn walk slowly, knocking on the ground with their staffs which have a silver ball, clearing a path for those who follow behind them.<sup>63</sup>

178. Known as well as the gauwās, was the *turdžema'n* = ترجمان *targūmān*<sup>64</sup> = translator, perhaps a loan-word from Aramaic, although the form is מתורגמן (Fraenkel, 280). In the form *Dragoman*, it penetrated to Europe, apparently via Egypt where the ج (ğ) is pronounced as hard *g* (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 35; Littmann, *Wörter*, 24; Lokotsch, 2033).

\* er is *turdžema'n* bam amerikaner konsl, 'He is the [official] translator at the American Consulate.'

BW, 332: [Über]setzer lists only *mtarğim*: -in.

In not too flattering a manner, James Finn, British Consul in Jerusalem (1845-1862), writes about his official "Hebrew Dragoman" as follows:

"My official Dragoman though a Rabbi and the eldest son of the third Rabbi in Jerusalem, is unable to read or write even the superscription of a letter in the Ashkenaz character...

"A Sephardi in applying lately for British protection, begged me not to inform my Hebrew Dragoman of this application; for the Chief Rabbi would then hear of it, and he would have to suffer in consequence.<sup>65</sup>

A large number of administrative terms are connected with the *court-house* and legal procedure, some of them being names of *court officials*, e.g.:

179. *ka'di* = القاضي قاض *qādi* = judge, justice of the peace, magistrate — distinguished from المفتي, mufti, the religious judge, who judges in accordance with the šarī'ah.

*Ka'di* is also an honorable title, used in respectful address. BW, 261: Richter *qādi*: quḏā(t).

63. David Yellin, *Selected Writings* (Hebrew), 167.

64. Palestine colloquial Arabic knows the form *mtarğim* as well (BW, 332).

65. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, I, 127-128.

In Spain and Spanish-speaking countries *alcalde* (corruption from Ar. القاضى *alqāḍi*) is a magistrate, judge or mayor (Littmann, *Wörter*, 24; Lokotsch, 984).

„חצר של הדיין של ישמעאלי ... אבל הישמעאלי קורין אותו בלשונם קדי  
'It was the courtyard of the Arab judge... but the Arabs call him  
in their language *qāḍi*.'<sup>66</sup>

180. *ka'di-e-kuda't* = قاضى القضاة *qāḍi il-quḍāt* = Chief Justice  
\* der *ka'di-e-kuda't* hot aroysgegebn a psak-din [Heb. פסק דין  
'sentence'], 'The Chief Justice passed judgment.'

181. *ka'teb-el-a'del* = كاتب العدل *kātib el-'adil* = Notary public (liter. the secretary [writer] of accuracy [عدل *adl*]) to whom documents are handed for authentication.

BW, 235: Notar *kātib šar'i od[er]* 'adil.

\* *ikh'l* [= *ikh vel*] geyn cum *ka'teb el-a'del*, 'I will apply to the notary public.'

182. *baš-ka'teb* = باش كاتب *bāš kātib* = Chief clerk, who carries out on some occasions, as in a district-court, the functions of a notary.

Although the English language is officially used in the courts of Palestine, no Ashkenazi would use the term 'Chief Clerk' but he would say *baš-ka'teb* instead. \* *ikh gey cum baš-ka'teb*, 'I am going to apply to the chief-clerk', is, therefore, a common phrase.

1 And the owner of the courtyards, mentioned above, is the šeykh musa bāš-katib." <sup>67</sup>

2. About four months after my arrival from London, there came to me the *baš-kateb* (chief clerk) ... 'abd er-raḥman efendi el-ḥaldī. <sup>68</sup>

183. *muba'shir* = مبشر *mubaššir* (the full name being *mubaššir il-maḥkame*) = Court-crier, messenger, court-attendant (liter. announcer of good tidings).

BW, 141: [Gerichts]diener *mubaššir il-maḥkame*; 292: Sendbote *rasūl*: *rusul*; *mubaššir*: -in.

\* gib a šiling dem *muba'shir*, vet er dos dir makhn, 'Give a shilling to the court-messenger, and he will attend to it for you.'

66. Šaalu Šelom Yerušalayim, *Reshumoth*, II, 477.

67. Eliezer Rivlin, המשפט העברי, I, (Tel-Aviv, 1926), 123.

68. Yehoshua Yellin, זכרונות לבקירושלים (Reminiscences of a Jerusalemite) (Jerusalem, 1924), 52.

184. For court-translator *turdžema'n* is used, as above (No. 178), but no Arabic verb is coined from it and the saying goes:

\* *ikh'l* [= *ikh vel*] *geyn cum turdžema'n er zol dos mir iberzecn af eynglš, arabiš*, 'I will go to the translator for him to translate it for me into English, Arabic'.

*kha'džes* — See No. 204.

## 2. Legal Documents

185. *a'mer* = أمر *am'r* = order, decree.

\* *di regirung hot aroysgegebn an a'mer*, 'The government issued an order.'

*BW*, 47: Befehl *amr* F[ellachisch] *amir*: *awāmir*; *wašijje*: *wašājā*.

186. *firma'n* = Persian فرمان *faramān* = decree, a loan-word in Turkish and Arabic. It is a legal permit to trade, buy land and build houses, granted by the Turkish government to the subject of a European power through the offices of his ambassador in Constantinople. The procedure was complicated, purposely delayed, and Ashkenazim, as well as other non-Turkish subjects, were well aware of this. No wonder, then, that we find particulars of it in Rabbinical Responsa of the Orient concerning the so-called "Francos", where we read, among other things:

The same Franco [= A European Jew, about whose efforts to obtain a firman from Turkey for his "servants and agents" we are told in the Responsa] despatches a letter... to Constantinople through the official called אילגי [ōlgi = *ilgi*] *'ilgi* = ambassador, a word of Turkish origin *'ilči*] and the *ilgi* obtains a firman from the Ottoman King (מלך עותמאני).<sup>69</sup>

For *firman* in European languages, see Littmann, *Wörter*, 23; Lokotsch, 594.

187. *nifu's* = نفوس *nfūs* = Birth certificate *BW*, 133: Geburtsschein... *wa'rqat unfus* (od[er] *nfūs*).

69. Cf. A[lexander] Lutzky, The "Francos" and the Effect of the Capitulations on the Jews in Aleppo ((Hebrew), *Zion*, VI (1940), 55.



\* vos, host šeyn efšer [Heb. אפשר 'perhaps'] gemakht a falšn *nifus*?, 'What, have you perhaps made a forged birth certificate?'

188. *kušān* (pl. -es) = فوشان *qūšān* = the official deed of ownership of land, which is usually registered in the *ṭā'bū* (See No. 197). In former years this deed of registration, called حجة *ḥiğge* (Cf. BW, 183) was issued by the محكمة شرعية *maḥkame šar'iye* = Muslim religious court. At the time of the transaction, the رسم *rasm* = state-tax would be paid.

1. All matters concerning the sale and transfer of land were in those days brought before the religious court "*maḥkame šar'iye*", and not before the tabu, the special civil court for that purpose, and the deed of sale issued by that court was called "*ḥiğeh*", and not "*qūšān*".<sup>70</sup>

2. Each member who is not indebted to the society will receive a *qūšān* on his house and on the courtyard in front of it.<sup>71</sup>

189. *ma'zbate* = mazbaṭa = endorsement of a sale in *ṭābū*, a contract (Cf. BW, 60), sometimes — a document endorsed by the muḥṭār.

\* 1. er hot gevolt makhn a maška'nte [Aramaic משכנתא 'mortgage'] af cen dunam bayare bitnay [Heb. בהנאי 'on the condition'], az tomer vet er in farleyf fun a yor nit bacoln di maškante, geyen zey ariber cu dem ma'lve [Heb. מלוה 'creditor'] on a *ma'zbate*. 'He wanted to obtain a mortgage loan on ten dunam of orange-grove, on the condition that if he did not repay the mortgage loan in one year, it would be transferred to the creditor without a contract.'

\* 2. ikh'n [ikh vel] nemen a *ma'zbate* fun *mukhta'r*, 'I will take an endorsement from the mukhtar.'

3. The relatives and mukhtars have assembled to take counsel together, and they have decided to write a *mazbaṭah*, where it should be stated how ḥalīl selim testified before the undersigned to selling his lot, marked by its boundaries, to the efendi.<sup>72</sup>

190. *vakfi'ye* = وقفية *waqfiye* = A document confirming a pious bequest.

70. Yehoshua Yellin (See n. 68, above), 14.

71. The Book of Regulations of Meah Še'arim (See n. 53, above), 19.

72. Yehoshua Yellin, *op. cit.*, 173.

191. *mua'male* = معاملة *mu'āmale* = (commercial) transaction.

\* *ikh hob a mua'male in ta'bu*, 'I have (to carry out) a transaction in the land-registry.'

192. *ardkha'l* = 'arḏhāl (from Ar. عرض الحال = to present the situation) = petition, indictment.

*BW*, 66: [Bittschrift] als Klageschrift 'arḏhāl: -āt.

\* *eykh mir an advokat! r'ot kam [er hot koym] gekent onšraybn an ardkha'l*. 'He is some lawyer! he could hardly compose a petition.'

193. *vaka'le* (the *l* is palatalized) = وكالة *wakāle* = Power of attorney, trusteeship.

\* *ikh'l [ikh vel] gebn an advokat a vaka'le*, 'I will give power of attorney to a lawyer'.

A derivation from it is *vaki'l* = وكيل *wakīl* = Trustee, proxy, a deputy — a term known in Palestine Yiddish only in its plural — *vaki'les* (for the Arabic وكلاء *wukalā*). The following are excerpts from the regulations of the Jerusalem quarter Meah Še'arim:

1. When an important matter comes up before the committee, such as to assign vakiles or substitutes... and the like... it shall assemble God-fearing and understanding men, numbering up to twenty-three, as in the Small Sanhedrin [consisting of the same number of members] and take decisions by a majority vote.<sup>73</sup>

2. The noble man, R. Avrohm Cvi Eydelman, — may his light shine — had bequeathed the house No. 82 for learned men to dwell therein by casting lots or upon the opinion of the *vakiles*.<sup>74</sup>

3. Expenses by the *vakiles* — about thirteen-and-a-half Napoleons.<sup>75</sup>

*BW*, 308: [Stell]vertreter *wakīl*: *wukalā*; *muwakkal*; *najīb*: *nuwwab*; ~ *vertretung bādāl*, *wikāle*, *nijābe*.

194. *tabli'r* = تبلغ *tabligh* (the classical form being (بلاغ) = legal summons.

\* *ikh vart nor af a tabli'r*, vel *ikh arayngebn dem psak-din [Heb. פסק-דין] in i'džera*, (See No. 203), 'I am only waiting for the summons to hand in the sentence to the "Sheriff's Office".'

73. Regulations of Meah Še'arim, 22.

74. *Ibid.*, 35.

75. *Ibid.*, 47.

195. *ru'khse* = رخصة *ruhṣa* (from رخص = to give license, to allow) = license, permit to carry on trade or work.

BW, 107: Erlaubnis izn F[ellachisch] idn, obrigkeitl. *ruhṣa*.

1. When the Hebrew language was revived in Palestine, the word *ruhṣa* was at first used instead of the later coined רשיון [from Mishnaic רשה to have power], as may be seen from the following: "It is a שהפחה השכמי אינו נותן רוכסיות לבנין בתים בכפר סבא והדבר שהפחה השכמי אינו נותן רוכסיות לבנין בתים בכפר סבא" fact, that the Pasha of Nablus is not issuing permits to build houses in Kfar Saba." <sup>76</sup>

2. In the Old Ashkenazic community, the word *ruhṣa* is commonly used in speech and in writing, e.g. הוצאות הרוכסיע ולמהנדס העירי. "Expenses for the permit and the city engineer for the paving of 13 old stores." <sup>77</sup>

196. *rafiti'ye* = رتبة *raftīye* = Bill of entry, transit duty.

\* m'darf aroysnemen a *rafiti'ye* fun *gu'mruk*, 'We have to take out a bill of entry at the custom-house.'

*gu'mruk* = Turkish كرك (جرك is the Egyptian pronunciation) = Custom-house (BW, 402, Zollamt *dāret il-gumruk*), while custom, tolls, paid or imposed, is Ar. *gumruk* (BW, 83: Douane *gumruk*: *gamarīk*). <sup>78</sup>

C. F. Seybold [ZDPV, XXI (1898), 186-187] would trace its etymology not from the Turkish *gümruk*, but "über neu-griechisch koumerkī auf ital. latein *commercio*, — um zurückgeht" (Lokotsch, 751, cites the form *kommerkion*); Wagner, *Beiträge*, 152, asserts that *gömrük* is known in all Balkan languages with the same meaning, 'Zoll, Zollamt'.

Judeo-Spanish is *komerčo* (Wagner, *ibid.*) and *cumerchu* (Luria, *Monastir Dialect*, 545), but in Ladino in Palestine *gumruk* (with hard "g") is used instead.

76. From a correspondence in the weekly השעל הצעיר, No. 20-21, August 12, 1910.

77. From an item in the income and expenditure accounts of the committee of Meah Se'arim (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1922).

78. This word is very popular in Arabic, and for one talking without end, the Arab proverb says: *īkalām mā 'aleyh gumruk*, 'talking pays no toll' (Isaac E. Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica* (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1932, 26, No. 102).

3. *Administrative Institutions, Penalties*

197. *ta'bu* = طابو *ṭābū* [of Turkish origin *ṭāpū*] = Land-registry (*BW*, 154: [Grund]=buchamt *ṭābū*). Cf. Nos. 189, 191.

The following usages are connected with the transactions in *ṭābū*:

198. *ifra'z* = إفراز *'ifrāz* = parcellation, division of land into parcels, separation.

\* *ikh hob gemakht an ifra'z* (pronounced: *a nifra'z*), 'I carried out a parcellation of land.'

199. Following such a procedure, the land, now free from all limitations mentioned above, is *mafru'z* = مفروز *mafrūz*, separated, parcelled, and is called *mafru'ze*, 'parcelled (land)'.

Limitations applied to land in the categories of *mulk*, *mīrī*, and *waqf*, are described above, pp. 177—179.

200. Land transactions are valid only after they are *sade'ket* (the Yiddish past participle form of the infinitive *sade'ken*, from Arabic صادق *ṣādaq* = to endorse, confirm; classical Ar. is (صادق على) in *ṭābū*. One may hear for instance:

\* *men darf sade'ken di kni'ye* [Heb. קניה 'purchase'], 'We have to register the purchase.'

\* *hoste šeyn sade'ket in tabu?*, 'Have you already registered [the transaction] in the land-registry?'

This word, in the Hiphil הצדיק with the same meaning, is common in the Hebrew style of the Old Ashkenazic community. Thus we read:

1. ואם ירצה חינ'ע במאחזימע, מחויבים אנשים ההם ללכת חנם להודות ו'ול הצדיק לו המכירה על הבית והמיוחד לו אצל ביתו And if one wishes to obtain a deed of sale in the court, the people should go to testify, without pay, and confirm the sale on the house and that which he owns near his house.'<sup>79</sup>

2. ... אך טרם שהספקתי ל הצדיק את המכר בערכאות כדת. But, before I had time to register the sale in court as required by law...'<sup>80</sup>

79. Regulations of Meah Še'arim, 18.

80. Yehoshua Yellin, 115. — For earlier references with the same use of 'צדיק see Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, III, 1164.

201. *ma'khkeme* = *محكمة* *maḥkame* = court, in previous times — the court-house of the Muslim Council.

*BW*, 141: Gericht *maḥkame*: *maḥakim*; 'adlijje.

\* *me hot'em* [=hot im] gerufen cu der *ma'khkeme* [also: *me'khkame*].

1. ויצו השופט וינעלו דלתות המחכמה היא בית ערכאות הישמעאלים.  
'And the judge ordered the closing of the doors of the mahkeme, which is the Muslim court-house.' <sup>81</sup>

2. כי ממצט המשפנות שיש לי מהגוים איז להביא לידי גובינא. והייתי במאחקימע, גם אצל המישלון [מושלין = מוסלמים] דפה [=ירושלים].  
'I am unable to collect the few pledges from the Gentiles, and I visited already [in this connection] the Maḥkime of the Muslims in Jerusalem.' <sup>82</sup>

3. 'And if one wishes [to obtain] a sales-deed in the court...' <sup>83</sup>

4. .... בא אלי ה"באש כאחב" (ראש הסופרים) של הקאדי (ראש השופטים).  
'The chief clerk of the judge in the mahkeme came to me.' <sup>84</sup>

202. With *maḥkame* are connected the infinitive *khake'men* (from Ar. *حَكَمَ*) = to be at law, and the verbal noun *khake'me* (for Ar. *حُكْم* *ḥukm*) = lawsuit, court-procedure). One may hear, for instance:

\* *er't'zakh* [= *er hot zikh*] nit gevolt *khake'men*, 'He refused to appear before the court.'

\* *me't'em* [= *men hot im*] *gekhake'met*. 'A lawsuit was brought against him.'

\* *me't'em gemakht a khake'me* — meaning as in the preceding phrase.

*BW*, 348: urteilen ḥakam 'ala, qaḏa.

203. *u'džera* (or *i'džera*) = *أجرة* 'uğra = the "Sheriff's office", which executes the court sentence in civil lawsuits, and where court fines are paid. (Cf. No. 194).

\* *ci geyt ir farbay far der u'džera?*, 'Do you pass by the "sheriff's office"?'

81. Second Edition by Eliezer Rivlin (Jerusalem, 1928), 13.

82. From a letter of R. Hillel Rivlin, a Lithuanian Jew in Jerusalem, published by Eliezer Rivlin, *Zion*, V (1933), 145.

83. See n. 79, above.

84. Yehoshua Yellin (see n. 68), 52.

204. The *uğra* is authorized, among others, to *khadže'zen* (Yiddish infinitive form for Arabic حجز على) = to sequester the property in case the guilty one refuses to pay the money in a lost case. The officials executing the sentence, are called *kha'džes*.

BW, 191: Konfis-kation *ħağz* ('a la); =zieren s[ei]n Vermögen *ħağaz* ('ala) amwālo.

\* az men vet nit coln, vet men šikn *kha'džes*, 'In case they refuse to pay, the sequestrators will be sent against them.'

\* men vet im *khadže'zen*, 'His property would be sequestered [and as a result, sold at public auction].'

\* men hot im *khadže'zet*, 'His property was sequestered.'

205. *bolisi'ye* = *bōlišiye* (or *būlišiye*) = Police.

\* men hot im *tale'bet in der bolisi'ye*, 'He was called to the police.'

*tale'bet* is past participle of Yiddish infinitive form *tale'ben* for Arabic طلب *ṭalab* = to seek, demand.

BW, 248: Polizei *būlišijje*; Polizist *būliš*, *bōliš*: *būlišijje*; 28: [auf]-fordern *ṭalab min*.

206. A police-post is *nu'kte* = نقطة *nuqṭa* (liter. a point, Heb. נקודה). BW, 374, lists: Wachthaus *nuqṭat bōliš*.

\* m'hot im genumen in *nu'kte* arayn, 'He was taken to the police-post.'

It is interesting to note that another word for police-precinct in Palestine colloquial Arabic is *karakōn* (BW, 248). It is a corruption of *karākōl* = *karakul*, dressed lamb-skin out of which police hats are made. (For an additional explanation, Cf. Lokotsch, 1078).

207. For prison the Turkish word *ki'šle* = قيشله *qışle* (liter. barracks) is current (a complicated explanation is given by Lokotsch, 1281).

208. The Arabic word for it in Palestine Yiddish is *khabs* (pronounced *khaps*) = حبس *ħabs*, and a convict sitting in prison — *mkhabi'snik* = Ar. محبوس *maḥbūs* + Slavic suffix *-nik*.

\* m'hot im arayngezect in *khabs*, 'He was confined to jail.'

\* bagleyt hot mir a *mkhabī'snik*, 'I was escorted by a prisoner.'

\* er ligt in *khabs* vi a holater kelev [Heb. כלב 'dog'], 'He lies in prison like a skinned dog.'

BW, 403: Zucht-haus ḥabs, lumān, od[er] ašghāl šāqqa (schwierige Arbeiten); -häusler maḥbūs: maḥābis.

209. Far worse is it when one says

\* er hot gekrogn *kha'bsi dam*, 'He received a life term.'

*khab'si dam* (pronounced *khabsida'm* = حبس دام ḥabsi dām = liter. prison forever (Ar. ما دام = as long as he remains), which one receives for homicide. The prison for those convicts was in Acre [Heb. עכו], and it sounded very bad indeed when one said \* men hot em avekgešikt in *A'ke* [עכו] 'He was sent to Acre.'

210. *fa'lakes* = (A Yiddish plural-form of Ar. فلق falāq = to split, to cut) = lashes on the soles of the foot, chiefly with a bamboo-stick, as used in the Turkish penal system (Cf. Lokotsch, 578).

In Aramaic are to be found the forms פלץ 'to split, create a gaping wound' and פלץ 'fissure, wound' (Jastrow, 1185). Fraenkel, 282, tried to connect the word with modern Persian pālīk, but gave up the idea following Nöldeke (Mandäische Grammatik).

Ashkenazim who were among the sufferers of this penalty in the "terkiše mahnir" (Turkish manner), or were witnesses of it, inform us as follows:

1. In a letter from Jerusalem, 1625-26, in the times of Muḥammad ibn Farūḥ, who terrorized the Jewish community, we read: "The chieftain... and the judge accused us by false charges in order to leave in Jerusalem only a small number of those paying the poll-tax. One day one of the ruler's men came asking for five hundred ells of cloth and he found us praying the morning-prayer. Suddenly he struck two of us, and when five or six of our people went to cry before the ruler of the country, he ordered to lash each one of us with two hundred lashes.<sup>85</sup>

2. An excerpt of the itinerery ידי משה ספד of 1769-1770 follows: The chief ordered the tax-collector to lie down and he gave him

85. חרבות ירושלים (See n. 81), 52.

twenty-five [lashes] on the soles of the feet in the Turkish manner, in order that he should never collect more than is due him.<sup>86</sup>

3. The Pasha let few of them have lashes on the soles of the feet in the Turkish manner.<sup>87</sup>

4. Of this punishment exercised by Turkish officials to extort money from the Ashkenazic Jewish community in Tiberias, we are informed in a letter written in 1822:

At the beginning of the month of Adar an order was received to pay an additional amount of one hundred and fifty thousand Taler [piasters]. Immediately we were driven together in the fortress and some among us were terribly beaten on the soles of the feet until they agreed to pay the half of it, namely, the sum of 75 thousand Taler.<sup>88</sup>

211. *sara'ye* = سراي (or سراية) *sarāye*, a Persian loan-word in Arabic, meaning castle, palace, large building. In European languages the spelling *serail* and *seraglio* is used among others (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 82-83; Littmann, *Wörter*, 38; Lokotsch 1075, 1842).

In Palestine colloquial Arabic, and hence in Palest. Yiddish, *sarāye* is usually the courtyard where the court-house and other government buildings are located. Sometimes it is also the quarters for the city hall.

1. And a multitude of people, men, women and children, have assembled in the courtyard of the "*sarāya*" (the yard of the court-house).<sup>89</sup>

We arrived at the "*sarāya*" — the central government-house in town. Here are located the most important institutions: the police department, the court-house, the treasury, and the prison.<sup>90</sup>

212. *beledi'ye* (or *biladi'ye*) = بلدية 'belediye = Municipal council, city hall (its full name under the Turks was إدارة بلدية *idārey belediye*).

BW, 254: [Rat]haus bälädijje, -ät; 304 [Stadt]behörde bälädijje.

1. When a new building was to be erected, it should first be brought before the "*belediye*."<sup>91</sup>

2. "...a caygnisse fun dem *belediye* doktor", "...A certificate by the City doctor."<sup>92</sup>

86. Itinerary of R. Moshe Yerushalmi, Tel-Aviv edition, 32-33.

87. *Ibid.*, 51-52.

88. Ph. Friedman (see n. 61, above), 272.

89. Yehoshua Yellin, 104.

90. Yichak Ben-Zvi, *Writings*, I (Tel-Aviv, 1936), 81.

91. David Yellin, *Selected Writings*, 69.

92. *Pardes*, No. 7.



213. *sakhi'ye* = *صحية* *ṣaḥḥīye* (from *ص* to be in good health) = Health department, one of the departments of the *beledīye* (the full name is *idārat eṣ-ṣaḥḥīye* [BW, 145]).

#### 4. Taxes

Taxation in Turkey was based, as in a Muslim state, upon a religious and administrative tradition to suit not the needs of the time but that of the various rulers. The basis of this system was that, in accordance with the *ṣarī'ah*, the taxes differed for the "Believers" and "Infidels", and, as was to be expected, the latter paid higher taxes than the Muslims. In Palestine, a country sustaining itself chiefly by agriculture, taxes were especially levied on land and its produce, and it was chiefly collected in towns and villages, namely in regions where the Turkish government through its officials had control over the settled population.

As for the Ashkenazic Jewish community, it was composed almost entirely of an urban element from abroad, not being Ottoman subjects, who therefore were taxed on their immovable property — land and houses — as non-Muslims.

214. No wonder, then, to hear tales of old-timers who have not forgotten the miseries caused them by the special tax called *khara'dž* = *خراج* *ḥarāğ* = Poll-tax.<sup>93</sup>

It is often mentioned in accounts of the plight of the Ashkenazic community when it was still on its first steps toward settlement in the "Holy Land." Thus we are informed in a letter from Jerusalem, 1625-26, that

With the change of the chieftain there arose a new ruler [Muḥammad ibn Farūḥ] who decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, leaving only a few [to pay the] poll-tax. בהשחנות השר ויקם מלך חדש וגזר. לגרש את ישראל מתוך ירושלם ולא ישאירו בתוכה זולת סכום כרגא (דמלכא).<sup>94</sup>

93. According to Frankel, 283, it is the Aramaic loanword *כרנא*. The *ḥarāğ* is often mentioned in these accounts as *כרנא דמלכא*. The Encyclopedia of Islam, II, 902, states that the word is "borrowed by the Arabs from the administrative language of the Byzantines." For interesting derivations in Slavic languages, cf. Lokotsch, 825.

94. תרבות ירושלים, 50.

A century later, about the year 1717, we are told in another letter from Jerusalem of a compulsory payment of the ḥara'ḡ for five years all at once out of a sum of 15,000 "Leybn-Taler" [Löwentaler] collected abroad for the community:

And all the money which reached us clean and cut in the amount of fifteen thousand leybn-taler... we were compelled to pay our debts for the maintenance of the community... and for the poll-tax, called *kharac*, indebted for five years (ע"י המשולחים) וכל צרור הכסף המובא הנ"ל הבא לידינו נקי ובר חמשה עשר אלף אריות... הוכרחנו לשלם מה שהיינו חייבים בעד פרנסת החברא... ולכרגא דמלכא שקורין חראטש זה חמשה שנים.<sup>95</sup>

During the nineteenth century the ḥaraḡ is frequently mentioned, in various forms of spelling, in historical accounts and letters sent by the Ashkenazic Jewish community to their brethren abroad. As this "poll-tax" was not paid individually but was levied against the entire community which was responsible for its collection, it is mentioned in connection with cases of internal strife between the Ashkenazim seeking the protection of their consuls against the tax, and the Sephardim desiring to keep the former under their sway in order to increase the Ashkenazic share in the payment of the ḥaraḡ. Thus we read in a detailed account of 1819 how the Ashkenazic communities of Safed and Tiberias were taxed with ḥaraḡ for a ten-year period, to be paid at once to the pashas of Acre and Damascus. It came as an aftermath of the political murder of their protector, the Jewish financial secretary Ḥayim Parḥi in Acre. The narrative then continues:

On the same Sabbath, on the second day of the month of Elul, we, all the Jews, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, were taken by order of the chief mentioned above ['Abdallāh Paša] to the big fortress of the ruler of the town, not being aware of the reason for this... They especially wanted to know the number of all of us, for the chief was informed that there were a few thousand Jews for whom the noble man [Ḥayim Parḥi] did not pay the poll-tax (פרגא דמלכותא)... I then said to the ruler of the town and to the high officials of Acre: "Let your servants escort us and we will procure our record-books where the number of

95. The letter, addressed to R. David Oppenheim, the famous leader of Bohemian Jewry, was published by Isaac Rivkind, *Rešumoth*, IV (Tel-Aviv, 1926), 322.

our community is registered and which is in accordance with those assembled here." And so they did. The next day they imposed upon us a poll-tax in the amount of ten years [to be paid at once], and we were in great distress. But the One in heaven, who is the cause of everything, anticipated the remedy for a scattered people, for our brethren the Ashkenazim — may their redeemer watch over them — who are insulted and harassed from every side and corner. At that very time an important official, a Minister [Ambassador] from the Russian Czar arrived at Jerusalem and from there he proceeded to Acre. We sent representatives informing him that we were foreigners here [and subjects] of the great powers and that savages have risen against us to cause us to perish from the Holy Land. He went instantly to the new chief in Acre showing him the privileges, ratified by the Turkish government, to the effect that he had no authority over subjects of foreign countries. The chief answered him in turn, that he ordered taxes to be taken only from the Sephardim, subjects of his country. And the minister reprimanded the [Russian] consul in Acre for not protecting the rights of his subjects — for which he was placed there. He sent him to Safed, and he came here making an agreement whereby the Ashkenazim shall pay annually eighteen purses ["ח"י כ"יט", the purse being 500 piasters] for the land and houses... with the stipulation that with the payment of this amount all due privileges will be accorded to them [the Ashkenazim].<sup>96</sup>

In the form *kharc* (חאָרץ) which the Ashkenazim knew from Russia, the *ḥarāḡ* is mentioned, about the same year 1819, in a letter from Safed written by R. Yisroel Šklover, the writer of the preceding narrative, in connection with his struggle against the Sephardic claims concerning legacies in Palestine. In stating his case, he mentions the same event and proved again the Ashkenazim were exempt from paying the *ḥarāḡ* demanded by the Turkish officials:

After the noble man Ḥayim Parḥi was killed, they [officials sent by 'Abdallāh Paša] came to us... to take a census so that everyone should pay *kharc*, and they counted us like sheep and everyone, including Ashkenazim, paid *kharc*. Afterwards it was decreed that one hundred purses should be paid for the past ten years... At the same time the [Russian] Minister passed by, and he came to Acre [to advise] the [Russian] consul to do everything so that no *kharc* should be taken, except of our own volition. And he [finally] accomplished it that Ashkenazim should pay annually for their houses fifteen purses,

96. Aryeh Leyb Frumkin, Narrative of the Beginning of the Settlement of the Ashkenazim (Hebrew), *Zion*, II (1927), 136-137 (with notes by Eliezer Rivlin). The narrative itself was written by R. Yisroel Šklover, leader of the Ashkenazic Jewish community in Safed.

a purse being five hundred Leybn-Taler. We were likewise accorded a privilege, exempting Ashkenazim from paying any other tax.<sup>97</sup>

We still recognize the ḥarāḡ in its corrupted spelling *hracir* (הראציר), mentioned in a letter from Tiberias, 1822:

And when the order concerning us [Ashkenazim, not to pay the tax] was issued, the Sephardim quarreled with us and went to the ruler of the city asking him to write to the big chief [the Paša of Acre] that we constitute two-thirds of the city and that they are no more than one-third and that we have been permanent residents for the last fifty years and some among us were born here. What is more, that he has already registered us in the Turkish record-books obliging us to pay *hracir* [haracir? the Heb. spelling being הראציר], and that we are no longer under the authority of the Austrian Kaiser or the Russian Czar but have come under his rule (וכבר יצאנו מתחת יד הקירה) [הקיסר ירום הודו] וקיסר<sup>98</sup> רוסי' ובאנו תחת ממשלתו.

The ḥarāḡ is also an issue in a consular letter (dated June 26, 1839), sent by the first British consul, W. T. Young to Viscount Palmerston:

I beg to mention to your lordship that this month I have received a nominal list of Jews from the local Authorities, who claim exemption for paying the *Kharage*, an annual tax, all of whom have hitherto paid it.<sup>99</sup>

The same word had a later development as a result of its geographic-linguistic migration. The invasion of the Tartars left it behind in the Russian language in the form of (kharč') meaning *eatables*, *provisions* and in Polish — *haracz* = tax, duty.

From these two languages it penetrated into Yiddish. It is to be found in several Yiddish-Hebrew-foreign language dictionaries, viz.:

I. M. Lifšic, *rusiś-yudiśer verter-bilch*, third edition (Kiev, 1881), 407: דער כארטש, דאס עסן, צעהרינג, דיא מוונות, דער פרעוויאנט, דאס עסנווארג.

A. L. Bisko, *Complete Yiddish-Hebrew Dictionary*, (London, 1913), 149: כארטש, מזון, ז' צידה נ'.

97. Eliezer Rivlin, *Orders concerning Legacies in Jerusalem and Palestine* (Hebrew), *Askara*, V: Palestine (Jerusalem, 1937), 608 (also Reprint, 50). A fragment of this letter, copied from a manuscript in the Hebrew University Library, Jerusalem, with numerous mistakes, making it unintelligible, was published by Bernard D. Weinryb, *Zion*, III (1937), 71 (n. 12). The remark by A. J. Brawer, to the effect that "the word הארץ (kharc) ... was perhaps known from abroad to the writer of this letter" (*Zion*, V [1940], 164 (n. 4)) is superfluous, as Jews from Russia and Poland were very familiar with it (cf. below).

98. Ph. Friedman (see n. 200, p. 87), 273.

99. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, I, 10.

Ben-Ya'akov, *russish-hebreyish-žargon verterbukh*, fifth edition (Vilno, 1914), 950: *kharč* ח' — לעבענס-מיטל ; עסענווארג, מאכל, מכולח

Alexander Harkavy, *Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary*, second edition (New York, 1928), 259:

כאַרטש victuals, provisions, s. eatableas.

A[aron] Mark, *fulštendik poljš-yidiš verterbukh* (Complete Polish-Yiddish Dictionary) (Warsaw, 1929), 269:

Haracz, שטייער, מס, אַפּצאַל

215. With the abolition of the *ḥarāḡ*, the Turkish government in 1872 introduced the *ve'rko* = *wērko*, Turk. *wergo*,<sup>100</sup> or *amlāk wergusu* = a real estate tax on houses and land (cultivated or otherwise) within city limits in proportion to the value of the property. Through various additions this tax was increased by the Turkish government to 41% on buildings and 56% on land, still in force under the British mandatory government<sup>101</sup> (with the exception of buildings and land re-estimated in 1919).

The *wērko* was officially introduced by the Turks for all Palestine in 1872, as we are told by Yehoshu'a Yellin:

"In that year, [5]632 [= 1872], the government abolished this tax [*ḥarāḡ*] and introduced instead a tax on land in accordance with its measurement and its value, and officials were despatched to all cities in the country to measure the land and estimate it, and to fix accordingly the tax called "verko".<sup>102</sup>

According to the Ottoman law, the three cities of Mecca, Jerusalem, and Constantinople regarded as Holy Cities by the Muslims, were exempted from the *werko*.

Sephardic Jews, even to this day, regard the word *wērko*, pronounced *guerko* (גואַרקא) as a curse and an expression of fright.<sup>103</sup>

In a "Memorandum" submitted in 1930 by the National Council (Vaad Leumi) of the Jews of Palestine to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the Council complained of discrimination with regard to urban colonization due to the fiscal system of the Palestine Government, stating:<sup>104</sup>

"If the rural Jewish settlers paid Werko of 4-5 times the amount paid by the Arab... the Werko paid by the urban Jews was incomparably greater. The following examples illustrate this difference:

100. BW, 154: [Grund]steuer *wērko* a[uch] *wērgo*, *ḥarāḡ*.

101. Sir John Hope Simpson, *Report* (Hebrew Edition), 54. *Ibid.*, 134, Appendix 16.

102. זכרונות לבניינין, 65.

103. Cf. Isaac E. Yahuda, *Judaeo-Spanyolish Proverbs*, *Zion*, II (1937), 88, No. 69.

104. Memorandum submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission etc., (Jerusalem, 1930), 31.

Area (Sq. picks) (sic!)	Tax paid by former owners (LP.)	Tax paid by Palest. Land Development Co. (LP.)	Rate of increase
30,387	20	602.98	3014%
218,499	34.3	358.47	1054%
32,652	11.5	178.46	1552%
197,826	8.95	74.21	834%

216. *bede'l askeri'ye* = بدل عسكرية badal (bedel)  
'askariye = in exchange for (instead of) military service.

According to the religious practice of the Muslim Turks, only Ottoman subjects were subject to military service, while Jews and Christians, although Ottoman subjects, were exempted as "Infidels" from this duty, apparently due to the traditional aim of the spreading of Islam by the Turkish military in the spirit of the Muslim saying "*dīn Muḥammad bis-sēf*", "the religion of Muhammad [should be spread] by the sword."

Instead, Jews and Christians were obliged to pay a special tax for this "freedom", *bedel 'askariye*, which was collected by the respective communities. The Jerusalem Ashkenazic community paid its tax through its Central Committee (ועד כל הכוללים או ועד הכללי Committee of all Communities), exercising central functions for the whole community which was otherwise divided into autonomous כוללים (kole'l, pronounced *key'lel*, resembling that of a *Landsmannschaft* among European immigrants in the United States). Thus we find the following expense listed among others in the semi-annual report of the United Jewish Congregations at Jerusalem, 1849 (out of a total sum of 266,414.35 piasters [48,883 fr.] for the same period):

"22. Military tax (in addition to an amount collected for the same purpose) ... 12,398.10 [piasters]." <sup>105</sup> כב. יחרוק  
12,398.10 תשלומי אסכעריע על הגבוי

After the Young Turk revolt in 1908, when the Turkish *hurriye* (حرية = freedom, democratic Constitution, Jews say, to this effect: \* nokh dem vi terkay iz gevorn *khuri'ye*, 'After Turkey became a Constitutional country'), was intro-

105. שמש צדקה ("Sun of Righteousness"), IX, Jerusalem, 1849 [English summary], 15.

duced, this tax was abolished, and Jews as well as Christians were drafted into military service.<sup>106</sup> In the Jewish community there was a considerable number of so-called נלמים (pronounced *nelo'mim* = hidden, as non-Ottoman subjects were called) and they too had to serve.

Jews in Palestine, and especially those of Jerusalem, recall with horror the words *bedel 'askariye* which resounded sadly in the days of the first world war. The Jewish community had to provide a certain quota of soldiers on government order, and the Jewish representatives (called *šuyūḥ el-yahūd*, or ממונים as they were known in Jerusalem) were forced, under heavy penalty, to execute the order.

The following is a description by a non-professional writer on how Jews in Palestine reacted to this order, telling of his experiences in the Jewish settlements near Jaffa—Tel-Aviv:

"As there is a law permitting everyone to ransom himself, and the government itself was willing to accept payment of ransom instead of drafting to labor, so every Jew sold whatever he possessed to redeem himself in spite of being left (he and his family) without a penny. Then, instead of going into the service to die there, everyone chose to stay home and die close to his family.

"But the memory of the local government is short, and as soon as one paid his ransom money, it was forgotten and the next month another demand came, which meant that one was unable to ransom himself by paying once, but had to pay two or three times, until he would be finally tortured to death."<sup>107</sup>

217. *darbi'ye* = درية (from درب highway) *darbiye* = highway-duty, or payment for the paving and repair of highways. Until the *hurriye* several systems of *darbiye*, to which every Ottoman citizen was subject, were practiced. Thus in 1869 twenty working-days every five years were introduced for men from the ages 16 to 60, while in 1889 one was able either to pay ransom or hire a substitute. With the Constitution, an annual payment of four working-days according to local wage conditions was introduced for every Ottoman citizen from the age of 20 to 60.<sup>108</sup>

106. The same law still permitted exemption on payment of 1000 francs (or \$200). (Cf. D. Ben-Guryon and I. Ben Zvi, *Palestine, Past and Present*, New York, 1918, 90).

107. P[inehas] D[ov] Goldnšteyn, *The Story of my Life* (Yiddish), Part III (Petah-Tikvah), 1929), 462.

108. D. Ben-Guryon and I. Ben-Zvi, *op. cit.*, 91.

darbiye was also imposed on vehicles operating on the highways to "big" cities, as from Jaffa to Jerusalem and in the opposite direction. Somewhere at the entrance to the city a *bet il-karrō'sa* (bēt il-karrōsa [liter. house of the wagon] = duty-station; karrōsa كروسة being the Italian loan-word *carrozza*) was situated, where the duty was collected. The Turkish government used to farm out this tax for an annual payment, and the action of the concessionaire was known as *dame'nen* (a Yiddish form of the infinitive from Ar. ضمن *ḍamman* = to farm out taxes).

On the imposition of this tax on vehicles in Jerusalem, we are told the following:

I remember when the highway-duty was imposed by the Municipality, forty years ago, on vehicles, camels and donkeys, to be paid on entering the city, the fellahin then called this tax *nahbe* [liter. نهبه ], namely "robbery".<sup>109</sup>

As for the bēt il-karrōsa, we read:

At the big house stood an illuminated little wooden hut and from it voices of shouting, quarreling and cursing were heard, for this was one of the "alkarrōsa"-huts, namely a station for the tenants of the highways-duty which is imposed on every driver and on an animal carrying a load.<sup>110</sup>

218. *su'khara* = سخرة *suḥra* = forced labor, which Jews in Palestine remember from the days of the first world war.

219. *kharā'se* = حراسة *ḥarāse* = tax for guarding (Ar. حرس ) property. It is usually connected with another tax, *kana'se* = كناعة *kannāse* = (liter. sweepings) = sanitation, which was paid to the Municipality.

The term *ḥa'rāse* as a tax paid in Jerusalem is already mentioned in a Judaeo-Arabic letter from the Genizah, of the time of the Egyptian *nagid*, R. Isaac ha-Kohen Sholal, in the early 1500's.<sup>111</sup>

As for this tax, paid in the nineties of the last century, we are informed that "the *belediye* (Municipality) derives a large income from

109. Isaac E. Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, I, 71 (note to No. 307).

110. David Yellin, *Selected Writings*, I, 258.

111. Cited (via Richard Gottheil) by Samuel Krauss, *Zion*, I (Jerusalem, 1926), 122-23; Notes to it by Eliezer Rivlin, *Ibid.*, II (1927), 171-172.



the highway-tax (*karrōsa*)... and from the tax for guarding [property] and sanitation (*hārāse*) and (*kanāse*) paid by everyone owning a house or a store." <sup>112</sup>

220. I conclude the list of taxes with the *gabe'le* (also pronounced *garbe'le*) — a term not directly connected with the general administrative system described above (though deriving from Arabic), but nevertheless tightly interwoven in the mode of life of the Ashkenazic community, reflecting an important chapter of its history and development.

The gabelle penetrated into the Yiddish lexicon of the Ashkenazim via the Sephardim, who in turn took it over perhaps from the Italian *gabella* (although Lokotsch, 974, restores it to the Arabic "kabala" كَابَلَا , explaining it 'Steuer oder Taxe, die an den Fiskus zu zahlen ist'). In Italy it constituted at various times a tax on the transfer of property, on weights and measures, and finally on goods imported from overseas.

The gabelle had its place in Jewish communal life as well, varying in its imposition and purpose according to localities and circumstances. Thus in 1655 we hear about the community of *Leghorn* (Livorno) introducing the gabelle, consisting of "a duty of one-quarter of one per cent on all merchandise handled by local Jewish merchants." The ordinance was renewed in 1670 and 1691. <sup>113</sup> The community of *Bayonne*, France, "imposed a similar gabelle on local Jewish merchants for the support of orphan brides." <sup>114</sup>

The gabelle as a tax on ritual slaughtering occurs also in *Eastern Europe*. We are informed about it by Ber [Yiddish for Heb. בֵּר] of Bolekhov (Bolechow, a town in Eastern Galicia), or Birkenthal, who lived during the period 1723-1805, in his memoirs, a highly important historical source for Jewish life in Poland during the eighteenth century. There we read in an entry of the year 1742:

My brother pleaded before the Princess [Lubomirska] on behalf of our community of Bolechow, putting the case of our brethren elo-

112. David Yellin, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

113. Salo W. Baron. *The Jewish Community*, II (Philadelphia, 1942), 265.

114. *Ibid.*

quently before her. She was persuaded by him, and ordered the transfer of the revenues of the *Gabelle* to the treasury of the community.<sup>114a</sup> (וכן בעסקי קהלתינו באלחב השתדל אחי ז"ל [זכרונו לברכה] ודבר עם השררת הדוכסין בהתנצלות רבני עמינו עדת ישראל הרבה דברים המתישבים, והתרחצתה (וצותה להחזיר הכנסת הגב עלי לקופת הקהל יצ"ו).<sup>114b</sup>

It was also a familiar tax in the Jewish communities in the *Orient*. In the 17th and 18th centuries we find the *gabelle* in Smyrna (Ismir), Turkey, for general communal taxes as well as for the "study of the Torah" (תלמוד תורה) being a wider term for the study of the Law). In 1655 a *gabella* was imposed on merchandise, and later on meat.<sup>115</sup>

In Aleppo, Syria, the *gabelle* was, at the beginning of the 18th century, the single communal tax collected from the permanent "Francos", Jewish merchants from Europe who took up residence there, and those from Turkey. It was especially called *gabelle* and not assessment (עריכה), a term used in a contemporary Rabbinic Responsa in order that it should not be considered a permanent tax.<sup>116</sup>

As for *gabelle* in *Palestine*, we have some references, and I quote them in chronological order:

1. And whoever brings in a box, be it large or small, full or empty, pays a *gabelle* of ten pares (כל מי שיכניס תיבה בין גדולה בין קטנה בין מליאה בין ריקנית נותן גביל"א עשרה פרו"ת [from a letter by R. Abraham Yišma'el Ḥay Sanguineto to his father in Modena.<sup>117</sup> [The letter was sent from Jerusalem, 1741-42.]

2. An excerpt from the Rabbinic Responsa אדמת קודש by R. Ḥayyim Moshe Mizrahi, Rabbi in Jerusalem in the years 1725-1749, follows:

An inquiry concerning a custom prevailing until now in the Holy City of Jerusalem... Jews themselves sell kosher meat in the following manner: the meat-salesman goes to the slaughter-house, buys meat from the gentiles for less [money] and sells it at a profit in his store, and that [the profit] is the *gabelle* (גאביל"ה) which is practiced everywhere. From the *gabelle* he takes his salary and also pays the fee to the ritual slaughterers and examiners in town in accordance with a

114a. *The Memoirs of Ber of Bolechow*, translated... with an introduction... by M. Vishnitzner, (London, 1922), 95.

114b. Hebrew Edition (Berlin, 1922), 56.

115. For details see Samuel Werses, *From the Communal Life in Ismir* (Hebrew), *Yavneh*, III (1942), 105-106.

116. Cf. A. Lutzky, *The "Francos" etc. in Aleppo*, *Zion*, VI (1940), 68-70.

117. Published by Jacob Mann, *Tarbiz*, VII (1936).

former city approval. But now a crowd of newcomers arrived from east and west and they decided in an assembly among themselves to abolish the custom of old... They composed a new approval, signed first by them, and in addition have caused the signatures of some of the city residents to be affixed, and the essential part of their approval is... that henceforth there should be no gabelle on meat...<sup>118</sup>

3. Concerning the gabelle in Jerusalem, 1874-1875, we read:

Since the permit for slaughtering was handed over to the Ḥaḥam baši, the Sephardic community made use of it by imposing a tax on the sale of meat, called *gabelle* גָּבֵלָה increasing the price by three gruš [piasters] on the rotl so that it would cover the expenses for the ritual slaughterers, the watchmen, and other expenditures, and so that a sizeable income will be left for the needs of the community.<sup>119</sup>

4. Of a separate slaughtering, instituted in the late seventies by the group of Ḥasidim in Jerusalem, we are told that:

As soon... as a separate butcher-shop was also opened by the Ḥasidim (after instituting a separate religious court, they also introduced a separate "*gabelle*"), the curses of R. Yekhiel the butcher ceased.<sup>120</sup>

### 5. *Miscellaneous Expressions*

221. *mukha'ram* = محرم muḥarram (liter. inviolable) = the first lunar month of the Mohammedan year — the time when tenants who wish to change their apartments usually do so — which varies throughout the country. It is also known under the Hebrew terms מִשְׁךְ [from מָשַׁךְ 'to draw', hence 'to move'] or מִשְׁךְ דִּירוֹת [listed in Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, VII, 3381].

\* ven iz der *mukha'ram*? (or: ven iz der *me'sekh*?), 'When is the time for moving?'

222. *khma'ye takht surma'ye* = حامية تحت صرمايه  
ḥimāye taht ṣurmāye = "the foreigner under the shoe."

*ḥmāye* (liter. 'protection', from Ar. حَمَى 'to protect against') — a term designating a person enjoying extraterritoriality, under the protection of a foreign Power, by the capitulations.

118. Cited by S. Assaf, *Zion* (Bulletin of the Palestine Historical and Ethnographical Society), I (1930), 26.

119. Yehoshua Yellin, *op cit.*, 100.

120. Ephraim Cohen-Reiss, *Reminiscences*, 25. (For the here-mentioned R. Yekhiel, Cf. n. 14, p. 149).

The word *šurmāye* derives from סרם leather, tanned leather, which is the Persian loan-word *šärm* in Arabic. [In Gypsy Arabic *sarme* is a garment, "wahrscheinlich weil die Kleidung des Gesindels manchmal in Lederlappen bestand" (Littmann, *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, 13-14)].

With the outbreak of the first world war and the abolition by Turkey of the Capitulations, the *hmāye* was no longer protected and his position was changed to that of one *taht šurmāye* = under the shoe, namely, that of any other Ottoman subject exposed to all the forms of lawlessness of that regime.

Generally *taht šurmāye* was an expression of disregard and abuse, and one may hear:

\* *khob'm* [= *ikh hob im*] *takht surma'ye*, 'He is under my shoe', meaning: 'I laugh at him', 'I disregard him'.

\* *er iz ba ir takht surma'ye*, 'He [the husband] is under her shoe'.

It is perhaps related to the casting of a shoe at a person as a sign of disrespect, as shown in the Biblical passage על אדום אשליך נעלי 'Over Edom will I cast out my shoe' (Ps. 60 : 10).<sup>121</sup>

A similar expression, undoubtedly an allusion to the Biblical passage above, is found in a poem by the Hebrew poet Yehuda-Leyb Gordon (known by the abbreviation י"לג 'Yalag'):<sup>122</sup> על אח ישליך נעל.

The first large group of Ashkenazim arriving in Jerusalem in the early 1700s, had to endure many abuses from the Arabs, concerning which situation we are informed by R. Gedalye Semyaticer:

When an Arab is annoyed by a Jew, he gives him a harsh abusive beating with his shoe, and there is none to save him from his hand, and likewise a gentile Christian suffers the same lot.<sup>123</sup>

223. *bul* = בול, *bül* (abbrev. from *warqat bül*) = postage stamp.

Printed publicity matter (newspapers, posters, announcements, etc.) were taxed under Turkish law, the duty being paid by means of a *bül*, a stamp, pasted on them.

121. Cf. Jacob Nacht, The Symbolism of the Shoe with Special Reference to Jewish Sources, *JQR*, VI (1915-1916), 5 (Also reprint, 7).

122. In his poem בועורינו ובוקינו נלך!

123. Saalu Šelom Yerušalayim. *Rešumoth*, II, 487.



## דיא בריסקער רעבעצין וויל חרוב מאכען ירושלים.

גאך פֿינק ירושלים מענען חרוב ווערען, און איך וועל אַינעם פֿון מינע מענשען  
גים אפשטאפֿען, אזוי האט דיא בריסקער רעבעצין גענומען ווען מען האט איהר  
געבעטן אז דיא וועל דיא מחרתי ריבניקעס פֿון זיך פֿערשיקען, אים דיא שטאט מחלוקת  
איינצושטעלען! האט איהר געהערט און אייער לעבען ארומצוגעבן פֿון אזא צדקנות? עס  
איז איהר נאך ווייניג בריסק, שקל, קאחונע און לאמזע, וועלכע זיא האט אומגליקליך  
געמאכט, עס איז איהר ווייניג דיא אידישע בלום און געלד וועלכע איז דורך איהרע  
שקאנדאלען און רוסלאנד פֿערגאסען געווארען, וואו עס שיינט האט זיא שוין פֿערגעסן  
דיא שמעקנס מיט וועלכע מען האט איהר פֿון איבעראל פֿעריאגט, און האט זיך יעצט  
אפֿ געזוכט א גייעס עיר המקלט אויף איהרע מעשים תעניתים.

גין רעבעצין! ירושלים ערוק איז צוא הייליג פאר איך, און איהר האט א נזש ועקרב  
קין מאהל גים מוזק געווען, עס לעבען נאך אלע מיטלען, דיא אלע צוואנגען מיט וועלכע  
מעוועס איך דעם גיפֿט אים רייסען, מינע גים אז עס איז איהר שפֿער, פֿערגעסס גים  
אז איהר שפֿילט זיך יעצט מיט א נאנצע שטאט מיט א פֿוך מענטשען וועלכע ווינען שוין  
מיד געווארן צו פֿערטראגן דיא שאנע און שמין וואס איהר ווארפט אויף ויא פֿון  
יארען לאנג. אייערע ציצית וואס איהר פֿראגט אויף זיך, און דיא הענטשקעס וואס איהר  
מושאן אייער קאפֿ וועט דער וועלט דיא איינען גים פֿערבלעטן, דיא נאנצע וועלט קען  
אייך . . . . . און מיד וועלן בשום אופן גים דער לאזן אז אזא צדקנות וואו איז גיירען  
ישיבות כולל אמעריקא און מחרב וין דיא אלדע וואס ווינען גים ממלא איהר וואונש.  
אייך פֿאסט בעסער צוא פֿערהאנדלען מיט מריפה זינען, מיט מוסרים און מיססראנערין  
דיא איהר האט זיך שטענדיג אויף געפֿיהרט, אבער גים צוטרעסן אויף א הייליגע שטאט  
תלמידי חכמים עניים, אלמנות ויתומים, זייס וויסען אז איהר האט דא א „התראה“ פֿון  
א נאנצע שטאט מענשן, וועלכע האבן זיך בעשלאסן אין מאהל פאר אלדע, אראפֿ  
צוא ווארפֿן פֿון זיך אייער שווערן יאך, און מען איז איך מודה אז אויב איהר וועט גים  
אויספֿרייבען פֿון זיך דיא שקצים וועלכע ווינען גים פֿיינער פֿון איך און אויפֿהערן מחרב  
וין ירושלים וועלכע וועט אין דער נאנצער וועלט בעשמוצט דורך אייערע שקאנדאלען דאן  
וועלען מיד געוואנגען וין אפֿ צוהאקען אייער נאנצע לעבענס בעשרייבונג אים איך אין  
דער וועלט בעקאנט צו מאכען, און אנטווערען אלע מיטלען וואו פֿאר צוא ווערן פֿון  
אייערע מעשים תעניתים, און דאן וועט דיא נאנצע וועלט וויסען וואו דיא הייליגע תורה  
וועט געפֿראגן מיט אייערע . . . . . פֿיס.

A leaflet, published in Jerusalem, with a revenue stamp pasted on it  
(See No. 223) (From the author's collection).

\* dos iz nokh mit a *bul*, 'This has a stamp on it still', namely, of the time of the Turks, antiquated. For postal stamp on a letter the Yiddish *post-marke* is used.

From the Arabic it penetrated into modern Hebrew בול pl. בולים or בולי-דואר (not to be found with the same meaning in Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, I, 487, but is listed in Yehuda Grozovsky and David Yellin, *המלון העברי*, new edition, Tel-Aviv, 1927, 43).

224. *fara'r* = farrār [BW, 80, Deserteur '*askari farār*'] = deserter (See also No. 232).

\* er iz geven a *fara'r*, 'He was a deserter.'

The vicissitudes of a *farar* from the Turkish army during World War One is depicted by Aaron Reuveni in his Yiddish novel ירושלים אין שצטן פון שווערד (Jerusalem in the Shadow of the Sword), New York, 1963.

225. *ra'smedik* = رسمي rasmī + Yiddish suffix *-dik*, denoting continuity = Officially.

\* men ken nit haltn *ra'smedik* ofn, 'It cannot be kept officially open', I was told by the watchman on a visit to "Rachel's Tomb" when he was hurrying to close up the place.

*rasmī* was taken over as רשמי (*rašmī, rišmī*). in modern Hebrew. The Heb. name for the Official Gazette of the Palestine Mandate government was "העתון הרשמי".

## 6. Expressions no longer Current

Among the Arabic expressions and usages which penetrated into Palestine Yiddish are some which have now disappeared, though they were in use in years gone by. They have vanished together with the related institutions and customs, popular in their time — with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Yet they are still remembered by older people and traces of them can be found in memories of the past years and in the regulations of various societies. In the following I have noted some of these expressions:

226. *ida're* = مجلس إدارة meğlis 'idāra (or miğelisi idāre, as pronounced in Turkish) = Administrative Council, consisting of deputies of all recognized religious communities,

both Muslim and non-Muslim, in addition to a number of government officials.

...ואז שלח הפחה להודיע לקושטא בפרטיכל חתום מחברי האידרה  
'...And then the Paša informed Constantinople in a protocol signed  
by the members of the *idara*.'<sup>124</sup>

227. *khi'dže* = حجة *hiğže* = deed of sale of real estate, registered at the religious Muslim court (See *kūšān*, No. 188).

1. ...And whoever wins a house in the second lot... he should be given a sales-deed by the committee, signed by the people in whose names the *hiğe* is registered.<sup>125</sup>

(...והזוכה בבית בגורל השני... יותן לו שטר מכר כר"ת מהועד ובחתימת האנשים אשר החיג'ע היא על שמם).

2. And my father gave him a down-payment of fifty Napoleons and as for the rest he obligated himself to pay, when he will endorse it in the *maḥkeme* before the *qadi* at the issuing of a *hiğeh*.<sup>126</sup>

(ויתן לו מ"א [מורי אבין] תחלת פרעון חמשים נא"פ [נאפוליון] והחמשים הנותרים התחייב ליתן בעת אשר יצדיק לו בה "מחכמה" לפני הקדי ויתן לו "חג'ה").

228. *kira't* = كيراة *qirrāt* [Mishnaic Heb. קירט both from Greek *keration* (Lokotsch, 1182)] = carat, grade (liter. kernel), in Turkey one-twenty-fourth part of an estate.

1. ...And whoever owns one *qirāt* has one vote [in the committee for the colony of Petaḥ-Tikva], and one who has two or three [qirats] has votes according to the number of *qirats*.<sup>127</sup>

(...וכל מי שיש לו קיראט אחד יש לו דעה אחת. ואם יש לו שנים או שלשה יש לו דעות כפי מספר הקיראטים).

2. ...And the estate was divided into a hundred *grad*, each *grad* priced at thirty Napoleons (three hundred florins), and I have signed for the first ten *grad*... This is Petaḥ Tikva [the first modern settlement to be established in Palestine, in 1878] which is now a large town.<sup>128</sup>

229. *makhsi'bdži* = maḥsibgi (from Ar. حسب to number, count plus Turk. suffix -gi) = Secretary of Finance (*BW*, 255, *Rechnungsführer m'hāsibgi*).

124. Yehoshu'a Yellin, *op. cit.*, 67.

125. Regulations of Meah She'arim, 18.

126. Yehoshu'a Yellin, 14.

127. *Ibid.*, 69.

128. קונטרס שמרי משפט (Yiddish) [by R. Akiba Joseph Schlesinger] (Jerusalem, 1900), 16a. The author was the first Hungarian orthodox Jew to advocate settlement in Palestine along strict cooperative lines, only to be excommunicated by his community in Jerusalem and suffer misery thereafter. Cf. note 165, p. 70

And his advice was favored by the Paša and the Turkish officials: the qadi, the "mahsibgi" (chief of the treasury) and the "nāṭir al-awqāf" (chief [inspector] of the bequests).<sup>129</sup>

(והצעתו מצאה חן בעיני הפחה וחבריו השרים התורקים: הקאדי, המחסבגי" (שר האוצרות) והנאזר אל אוקאף" (שר האוצרות)).

230. *takrī'r* = تقرير *taqrīr* = written statement.

BW, 58: Beschluss(fassung) tašmīm, *taqrīr*.

A takrir from Yemen was read in the parliament (men hot in parlyament forgelezen eyn takrī'r fun teymen [תומן]).<sup>130</sup>

231. *tī'skire* = تذكرة *taḍkire* (BW, 242 Pass *tāḍkārāt safar*) = Passport.

1. Jews travelling to Palestine through Constantinople would no longer have a notification on the *tiskire* or passport that they are allowed to stay no more than three months as the practice was till now.<sup>131</sup> (די אלע אידען וואס פאהרען נאך פאלעסטינא דורך קאנסטאנטיןאפעל וועט מען שוין מעהר נישט אנשרייבען אויפן טיסקירע אדער פאספארט דאס עס איז איהם ערלויבט נור 3 מאנאט צו זיין, ווי עס פלעגט זיין דער שטייגער (ביזהער).

2. The following is an abstract from a British consulate report in Jerusalem, dated "Constantinople, 21 Dec. 1913" to this effect:

Reporting the Zionist success in obtaining the abolition of the "red passport" which non-Ottoman Jews were obliged to take out on arrival in Palestine, entitling them to reside there for three months.<sup>132</sup>

232. *vasī'ka* = wasīqa (BW, 107, Erlaubnisschein *wasīka*) = a document confirming that the bearer is exempted from military service and not a *farrār* (See No. 224).

During the first world war Jews in Palestine suffered much at the hands of Turkish officials in connection with the inspection of *vasikas*. Details are given by Yehoshu'a Yellin in his *Reminiscences*, 193-194.

It was also a permit for a free railroad ride, issued especially to government officials and those serving the Turkish army and helping the war effort.

129. Yehoshu'a Yellin, 105.

130. *Pardes* (See n. 19, p. 153), No. 5.

131. *Ibid.*, No. 8.

132. Hyamson, II, 583.



## CHAPTER VI

THE NEIGHBORS OF THE ASHKENAZIM  
(JEWS AND NON-JEWS)1. *Expressions concerning Ashkenazim and Sephardim*

If more material were available to me, this section would form a chapter in a sociological study in which group-relations are studied for the origins of mutual abuse, antagonism, and frequently hate, manifesting themselves in daily life and in the sphere of language. But with the scant data at my disposal, I shall have to limit myself to a few observations of a general nature.

As pointed out above, the first large Jewish group whom Ashkenazim met on their arrival in Palestine were the Sephardim. These two groups — Sephardim and Ashkenazim — had encountered each other previously in Turkish territory where communities of the latter already existed before the expulsion of the Sephardim from Spain in 1492. Relations between these two groups of common ethnic origin were far from friendly. To get to the root of this antagonistic attitude is a rather difficult task, and a proper answer will only be found after a detailed study of Sephardim and Ashkenazim, which has yet to be undertaken. One thing is obvious from the outset: the general sociological formula explaining group-animosity on the basis of opposition to standards different from those of the majority, will not suffice to explain this complex problem. And as the subject stands now, we can reckon only with statements of a not unbiased character.

Thus, Salomon A. Rosanes who wrote *A History of the Jews in Turkey* (in six volumes, Tel-Aviv-Sofia-Jerusalem, 1931-1945), himself a Sephardi, who never forgets to add to

his name the traditional letters of distinction ס"ט (abbreviation for ספרדי טהור, a pure Sephardi)<sup>133</sup> affixed to the signature of a Sephardi, and who is not free from historical bias against the Ashkenazim, writes: "The Ashkenazim, with their strange customs, their corrupted language and attire different from that of their brethren, their coreligionists in the countries of the Orient, not to speak of their mode of life, have drawn upon themselves derision and contempt from the rest of the Jews in Turkey."<sup>134</sup> To strengthen his statement Rosanes quotes from the Karaite scholar Elijah b. Moses Bashyazi<sup>135</sup> (died 1490 in Constantinople) in his book אדרת אליהו where he refers unsympathetically to "those coming from Germany [אשכנז] and eat the šalaša [שלאש = ?] with garlic which goes up in their heads . . . And the long garments down to the heels, and their ornamented head-covering the kapuci [קאפוצין = Italian *capuccio*, a hood, cape]<sup>136</sup> thrown over their shoulders only to make a show and frighten the people away."<sup>137</sup> As for the "corrupted language", Rosanes offers the opinion expressed in the historic chronicle קורא הדורות by David Conforte (born 1618 in Saloniki) to the effect that "all Ashkenazim are by nature inarticulate in speech, stammerers and stutterers (עלגי שפה, כבדי פה וכבדי לשון) and they are unable to speak properly and to bring forth in writing the thoughts resting in their hearts."<sup>138</sup>

In appraising the attitude of the Sephardic masses toward the Ashkenazim, it is again safe to take Rosanes' word, although his explanations are at times strange, to say the least. Thus he writes (*op. cit.*, 240):

133. This is the popular explanation of the abbreviation given by Sephardim. Interpretations of a historical nature are cited by Meir Heilperin in his book on Hebrew abbreviations הגוסריקון, הכמנים והכונים (Jerusalem, 1931), 188 (n. 1).

134. See his *A History of the Jews in Turkey* (Hebrew), I, second edition, (Jerusalem, 1931), 239.

135. On him see Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies*, vol. II: Karaitica (Philadelphia, 1935), General Index, 1543.

136. R. Eliah Mizrachi, a famous religious Sephardic leader, whose authority extended over the Jews of Constantinople, forbade, in 1526, Jewish savants and their pupils to wear such a cape (Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, new ed. by Cecil Roth, London, 1932, 306).

137. Rosanes, *op. cit.*

138. *Ibid.*

"The masses on their part not only continued to deride and mock at the Ashkenazim, but also to hate them with the bitterest hatred as adherents of another religion and even more than that. They would always refer to them as *Tudesco* (German, in Italian) or *Tudesco Malo* (a bad German), the name "Tudesco" being a nickname not only for Ashkenazim, but generally symbolizing one who arouses aversion, a dirty person. [They were also nicknamed] אח-פרעש (namely, a brother, a co-religionist, but stinging like a vicious flea) חאלדיאו or כלדיאו Caldeo (a Chaldean, because of their long hair and side-locks like the Chaldeans of ancient times). There is likewise current, even to this day, the popular proverb, like the Hebrew proverb "the best of physicians will go to hell" [טוב שברופאים לגיהנום, Mishnah Kiddushin, 4: 14] ני אדזי — *Ni ajo dulce, ni Tudesco bueno* (There is no sweet garlic and no good Ashkenazi)." <sup>139</sup>

We could amplify these statements, but for our purpose it will suffice to give a characteristic remark quoted by the German ethnologist *Richard Andree*, who is, on the basis of his own remarks, not to be suspected of philo-semitism:

In 1878, a reader of the London *Jewish Chronicle* sent an inquiry to the editor concerning the "Portuguese" Jews, namely, the Sephardim: "are they only a sort of half-caste Jew, but distantly allied to our glorious race?", whereupon a "Portuguese" Jew replied:

"We are Jews of the highest caste, as may be best evidenced by the fact that we have always refused to assimilate ourselves with the lower caste — the *Tedeschi*." <sup>140</sup>

139. Mutual "internal" mockery at Jewish groups of different geographical regions, is a common phenomenon. One familiar with Jewish life would not wonder at the more than joking of "Litvakes", Lithuanian Jews, toward "Galicyaner", Galician Jews, and vice versa. For interesting alliterations, based on Biblical and post-Biblical passages, concerning Jews from Germany and Bohemia, see especially: Adolph Jellinek, *Der jüdische Stamm in nichtjüdischen Sprichwörtern* (Wien, 1882), 71 (and n. 1).

140. See his *Zur Volkskunde der Juden* (Leipzig, 1881), 101, note. As for the practice of the Sephardim not to intermarry with Ashkenazim, Professor Salo W. Baron quotes a Sephardic apologist writing in 1763 (from the English edition of *Letters of Certain Jews to Monsieur Voltaire*): "If a Portuguese Jew in England or Holland married a German Jewess, he would of course lose all his prerogatives, be no longer reckoned a member of their Synagogue, forfeit all civil and

Although by now these attitudes of mutual abuse and the distinctions of Sephardic "superiority" are melting away, the antagonism between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine still exists — a fact reflected in abusive nicknames, usages of derision and in jests told against each other.

233. A Sephardic Jew is known by the name *frenk*, pl. *frenken* (the name *sfardn*, Heb. pl. ספרדים, is also heard in Jerusalem), and the language Ladino or Španyolish, spoken by them — *fre'nkiš*,<sup>141</sup> while for women the words *fre'ñkiñes* or *sfa'rdkes* (a diminutive denoting dis-esteem) are used.

1. While discussing the language relation in Palestine, R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenlcer writes: "...The second [language] is Portugal [Spaniolish], this language is spoken by the Jews called *frenkn*."<sup>142</sup> (ב' פארטוגאל דיא שפראך ריידן די יהודים וואס הייסן פרענקן.)

2. A Jewish woman writes in an account from Palestine: "Afterwards we went to the tomb of R. Sim'on b. Yoḥai and of his son Eliezer and R. Yichok [Isaac]. All three of them [are buried] not far from a Synagogue where *frenken* study [the Torah]."<sup>143</sup> — In the Hebrew translation of the Yiddish text הספרדים is substituted for *frenken*.

The question still to be answered is: From where was the name *frenken* for Sephardic Jews borrowed by the Ashkenazim? Neither Arabic nor Turkish have *franko* or *franġi* for them. It is a well-known fact that, until complications of a political nature entered into intercommunal relationships in Palestine, Arabs differentiated strictly between these two Jewish communities. Sephardim were named *yahūd*, *yahūd*, The Jews, while Ashkenazim were called *šiknāz*,<sup>144</sup> or contemptibly nicknamed *awlād il-mīt*, — "children of death", namely, cowards, relating to the older Settlement, and *maskōbi*, for

ecclesiastical preferments, be absolutely divorced from the body of the nation and not even be buried with his Portuguese brethren." (*A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II, New York, 1937, 166).

In view of all these data quoted above, one wonders how to explain the fact that a common surname among Sephardim is precisely — Ashkenazi (אשכנזי) (also attested by Rosanes, *op. cit.*, 261).

141. The words *frenk*, *frenkiš* (פרנק, פרענקיש) are also listed in Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 414.

142. *Sefer Koroḥ Ha'itim*, 23a.

143. קונטרס זכר עולם by Rachel Anikshter, (Jerusalem, 1910?), 15b.

144. Arabs used to scoff at Ashkenazim by saying *šiknāzi be-le-elbās* [libas] = Ashkenazi without pants, referring perhaps to the fact that they did not wear the Arab-style wide trousers.

the pioneers arriving from (*bilād il-*) *maskōb* = the country of Russia. Yiddish is called *šiknāzi* or *šiknāgi*, and *taḥki šiknāgi*, a question often heard in Jerusalem, simply means, "Do you speak Yiddish?"

The name *frenk* is historically connected with the Arabic فرنجي *franġī* — a name given by Arabs and Turks to Europeans, first applied to Christian merchants, arriving from the western parts of Europe, English, French, Italians, etc. while to those coming from the eastern parts of Europe, particularly from Russia, the name *maskōbi* was applied.

The name *franco*, *francos* (פראנקוס, פראנקו) for Jewish merchants from Europe in Aleppo, is found in Rabbinic Responsa from the Orient, while a Christian merchant is called "a gentile franco" (פראנקו א'ן חדר ערל).<sup>145</sup>

It goes back etymologically to *Frank* — originally, a member of one of the ancient German tribes which overthrew Roman dominion in Gaul; it is the source of the name *France*.<sup>146</sup>

When Ashkenazim came into contact with Sephardic Jews in Palestine, they already had in their Yiddish vocabulary the word *frenk*. Undoubtedly it had penetrated from a European language, probably German, but I am unable to support this contention with early historical or literary sources. A derivative adjective from it, *alt-frenkiš* (אַלט-פּרענקיש) 'in the old-frankish manner', for something old-fashioned or queer, is listed by the folklorist Abraham Tendlaw, who noted down early Yiddish expressions which survived among Jews in Germany. Concerning it, he writes:

„Das Neumodische wird dem *Altmodischen*, oder wie man noch häufiger hörte, dem *Altfränkischen* (nach Art der Franken, veraltet), besonders in Bezug auf religiöses Denken und Thun, entgegengesetzt."<sup>147</sup>

145. A. Lutzky, The "Francos" etc. in Aleppo, *Zion*, VI (1940), 77. The early data is from the first half of the eighteenth century.

146. A derivation of it in Turkish ('frenk illeti', French disease = syphilis, similar to Yiddish *francn* (Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 413), is listed by Lokotsch, 612.

147. See his *Sprichwörter und Redensarten deutsch-jüdischer Vorzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1860) 210, no. 669. In the meaning "old-fashioned", it is also listed in Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 56.

234. A note of derision is contained in the diminutive *frenkl*, *fre'nkale* (pl. *fre'nkalech*), and one of utter contempt is *frenk-parkh*, the latter being one having the contagious skin-disease scabies, meaning an untouchable, and in a milder metaphor — a mean, dirty fellow.

Ashkenazic school-boys (so-called "khey'der-yinglakh") in Jerusalem have a "song" to fit the pattern:

a parkh iz a frenkale,  
oyfn dakh šteyt a benkale;  
frenkale! frenkale!  
in baykhele dir a krenkale.  
(A little frenk is a scab / a small bench is on the roof  
Little frenk! Little frenk! / may disease hit your belly.)

235. An attitude of contempt toward Sephardim is expressed in the following usages:

- \* a freynk [frenk] iz an eybike kreynk, 'a Frenk is an everlasting disease.'
- \* eybik veln di frenken zayn *ši'šmadžis*, 'Frenken will forever be privy-cleaners' (a trade exclusively in Sephardic hands). For *šišmeḡi*, see No. 384.
- \* t'ader [= ot oder] frenkl iz geven fun di *šaba'b*, 'This frenk was one of the gang'. — *šabāb* — see No. 92.
- \* er (zi) geyt vi a frenkiše ka'le [Heb. נלה bride] cu der khu'pe [Heb. חופה canopy], 'He (she) walks as a frenkish bride to the marriage-ceremony' — is said of one walking slowly.
- \* di *kalava'sikes* zaynen šeyn eykh do! 'The k. are already here!'; *kalavasikes*, a nickname for Sephardim = calabazicos, diminutive of Ladino *calaba'za* = pumpkin (see Appendix I, No. 18).

236. The mutual animosity between these two groups is somewhat lessened, being more generously expressed, in the popular anecdote I heard in Jerusalem:

The month of Elul (אלול), the last in the Hebrew calendar, is considered in the Jewish tradition as one of mercy, and it is customary to visit the graves of deceased relatives [the Yiddish expression for it being "geyn of keyver-o'ves (Heb. קבר-אבות)"] to pray for a happy year [in Yiddish "oys-

betn a gut-yor"']. Thus homage is paid on visiting "Rachel's Tomb" ("keyver-ro'khl" = Heb. קבר רחל), not far from Jerusalem. As usual, Ashkenazic and Sephardic women fill up the place, which is overcrowded, pushing each other. Thereupon the "frenkiñes" are angered, they being pushed away and unable to touch the tombstone of "their" Mother Rachel, and, in disgust, utter to the Ashkenazic women, in Hebrew: —  
לכנה מכאן, רחל אמנו היא שלנו!

— Get out of here, Mother Rachel is ours!

To this challenge, one "aşkena'zerke" (Ashkenazi woman) says to the other standing near-by:

— gey šeyn gey, es ken nit zayn: ya'nkev-evi'ne [Heb. יעקב אבינו] vet nit kha'sene [Heb. חתונה] hobn mit keyn freñkine!, 'Nonsense, that is impossible: our forefather Jacob would not marry a frenkine (Sephardi woman)!'

237. All these above-mentioned expressions were not left unanswered by the Sephardim. Their reaction is expressed in a saying in Arabic — the common language of these two groups, which Ashkenazim understand: *aşkenāzi beḥbeḥ, ḥoṭ rāsak fi('il) ṭabbīḥ* = Ashkenazi glutton, stick your head in the dish!

*beḥbeḥ* — from Ar. *tabaḥḥaḥ* = to produce something plentiful, abundant.

There is also the possibility, that *beḥbeḥ* is rendered here in the meaning of "pig" the word imitating its grunting.

The Sephardim apparently adapted here an Arabic saying characterizing Jews as gluttons: 'id 'ilyahūd fi-'ilqdūr, 'id ilmuslimīn fi-'ilqubūr, 'id 'in-naṣāra fiz-zhūr = a Jewish holiday — in dishes [which they prepare in abundance]; a Muslim holiday — in tombs [of relatives, which are visited in a *zyāra*]; a Christian holiday — in flowers [of paper, decorating their homes on such occasions].

Arabic children used to sing: *yā yahūdī biḥbiḥ ḥoṭ rāsak fīl ṭabbīḥ*.

However, for a balanced view of the intercommunal relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine, one has also to turn to the reverse side of the picture. Despite the so-called "antagonism," there were numerous instances of cooperation between these two communities. This is especially true when we turn to the additional linguistic material — to the Ladino words that penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish as a result of common ties of friendship and neigh-

borliness (Cf. *Appendix I: Ladino Words in Palestinian Yiddish*).

With the rest of the oriental Jewish communities in Palestine,<sup>148</sup> the Ashkenazim are not in close contact, and this situation is again reflected in the language: with few exceptions, usages related to them are absent.

238. *Yemenite Jews*, the second largest community after the Sephardim, are nicknamed *tey'mener nakhs*, 'Yemenite ill-luck' [See No. 70. — I am unable to explain the reason for this nickname] and *tey'mener sma're* = from Ar. سمار *samār* = black goats, which are a familiar sight in almost any Yemenite house, or perhaps from أسمر *asmar* = to be dark, brown — the color of their skin.

To it the Yemenites, thoroughly familiar with the Bible, answer, by the way, with a passage from the Song of Songs (1:5): שחורה אני ונאווה 'I am dark, but comely.'

239. A *Persian Jew* is an *a'džemer* (pl. of it is unchanged!) — a Yiddish form of the Arabic عجم 'ağam = the collective term for Persians.

In Arabic this word has an undertone of contempt. Thus it signifies among others any people foreign to the Arabs, while عجمة 'uğma means defective speaking in Arabic, أعجم (الكلام) *a'ğam (alkalām)* to speak Arabic incorrectly, and استعجم 'ista'ğam = to mutter. (Cf. Littmann, *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, 16, explaining 'ğm, 'ağamī "Kauderwälsch". See also *Lokotsch*, 29).

It is interesting to point out for the sake of comparison, that the same approach, to name a people whose language is not understood by designating it as mute, is found in Russian and Polish concerning Germans. Russ. *Nemec* and Pol. *Niemec* for a German originate in *niemoy* and *niemy* respectively, both meaning a mute person.

For an adjective concerning a *kurdi* Jew — see above, No. 102.

148. There were eighteen oriental Jewish communities in Palestine, numbering altogether 64,716 souls, according to the census in סקירה לתולדות עדת היהודים הספרדים בירושלים (A Sketch of the History of the Sephardic Jewish Community in Jerusalem), (Jerusalem, 1933), 3. Of them, 15,000 were Sephardim, 13,300 Yemenite Jews, 9150 Persian Jews, 4700 Jews from Kurdistan. Recent data, showing the increase in these numbers by immigration, have changed entirely the demographic composition of the Jewish communities.



## 2. Expressions concerning non-Jews (Muslims and Christians)

For their non-Jewish neighbors, the Ashkenazim coined expressions which again reflect the level of mutual contact and relations, and by which their intensity may be judged. Thus, contact with the following ethnic groups was negligible, as merely attested by their names, which is all that penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish.

240. *mu'graber* — Plural of *mu'grabi* = مغربي *moghrabī*, while Ar. pl. is مغاربة *maghārbe* = Arabs from Morocco (Ar. *marākiš*), west (Ar. غرب *gharb*) of Palestine.

The *mu'graber* were usually employed as night watchmen in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem and of the stores in the Old City (cf. No. 251). The saying was *der mugra'bi*, meaning *der shey'mer* [Heb. שומר, 'watchman].

The *mugraber* were also engaged as watchmen in the Jewish settlements. They did not have any relatives, and therefore there was no fear, in case of violence, of the customary Arab blood feud.

The quarter of the Moroccans in Jerusalem was in the vicinity of the Wailing Wall, and in the past sometimes a scene of disorder caused by them to prevent Jews from free access for prayer at this last remnant of the Temple.

241. *švarcer* (pl. *švarce*, black, dark) — a name applied to Sudanese Negroes (Ar. سوداني *sūdānī*, from أسود *aswad* = black, dark).

This word, as well as *khey'šekhdike* [Heb. חושך 'darkness' plus pl. adjectival suffix *-dike*], are current in the United States for Negroes.

242. *kha'bešer* (pl. *kha'biše*) = حبشي *ḥabaši*, pl. حبش *ḥabaš* = an Abyssinian [a name originating in the Arabic (Lokotsch, 765)]; originally the S.W. Arabic tribe of حباش in Himyarite inscriptions.

When teasing little Abyssinians, Ashkenazic children shout after them *khabašña'u*!

The Abyssinians in Jerusalem reside not far from the Jewish quarter Meah She'arim. A street in Jerusalem is also named after them רחוב החבשים.

The Jewish traveller Obadiah da Bertinoro, visiting Jerusalem in 1488, includes the Abyssinians among the five Christian sects there; "Five different Christian sects reside in Jerusalem... and the *ḥubisi*

[Abyssinians] are those who follow the religion of Pristi Joani."<sup>149</sup> (חמש אמונות חלוקות של נוצרים יושבים היום בירושלים... והחוביסי הם (אותם הנמשכים אחרי אמונת פריסטי יואני).

More numerous and detailed are the usages and expressions concerning Arabs or related to the mode of life of the largest non-Jewish group of neighbors with whom Ashkenazic Jews came in daily contact.

243. In addition to *ara'ber*, Arabs, the following names are employed: *terkn* Turks — a name which survived from Turkish rule in Palestine, *yishmey'lim* [Heb. ישמעאלים] — following the Biblical tradition, *amoley'kim* [Biblical עמלקים, known for their attack on the Israelites after their exodus from Egypt, as related in Exodus 27: 8-16, hence עמלק became the nickname for anyone harming Jews, and "er iz an amoleyk" is a Yiddish expression to that effect.<sup>150</sup> *goyim*. [Heb. גוים], gentiles, as non-Jews are generally called, and *plakhn* (and not *felakhn* as expected from the plural of *fellāh* with syncope of the first vowel) — plural of *plakh* = *fellāh* — the village-people with whom the daily contact is close.

The feminine form is *pla'khte* which, in addition to *plakh* and *plakhn*, is characteristic of the Yiddish of Jerusalem. However, *fala'kh* and *fala'khn* are also familiar words for Arabs of the villages.

244. A rude fellow, an ignoramus is generally called a *plakh*, and a thickhead — a *pla'khiše kop*, 'head of a *fellāh*'.

To the *fellāh* in this usage was attributed the same role ascribed to the Russian muzhik, whom the Ashkenazim knew from the old country and who was held in low esteem by them.

Little children teasing a *fellāh* who happens to pass by shout after him:

149. The quotation is from the letters published, from a corrected Ms. by Moritz Steinschneider, in: Abraham Kahane, *Jewish Historical Literature* (Hebrew), II (Warsaw, 1923), 51-52. — The origin of the name "Pristi Joani" [Prete Gianni, Priest John] is unknown.

For an historical explanation of this name, see A. Z. Eshkoli, סיפור דוד הראובני (The Narrative of David HaReuveni), (Jerusalem, 1940), Introduction, p. 16 ff.

150. This expression does not necessarily apply to non-Jews only, for it signifies an evil-doing Jew as well.

Cf. my article "'Amalek', 'mokho', 'timkhe' = Armenian". *Yidishe Shprakh*, XVIII (1958), 1—20.

"hey, hey, ya falakh!  
khut [ḥoṭ] rasak fil baslakh!"

('O, you fellah, put your head in the slaughterhouse!' (as the cow or other animal for slaughter; he is thus depicted as a simpleton, a fool).

*Ephraim Cohen-Reiss*, in telling of the virtues of his "rebe" [Heb. רבי 'teacher'], R. David Shreiber, of Jerusalem, who taught him the art of writing, commends him when he writes: "With his pupils R. David got along gently. Even in anger, he was careful not to abuse his students... abusive nicknames, as "grobe yungen" [rude fellows], "a fellah's head" or the like, never came to his lips."<sup>151</sup>

*Leonhard Bauer* adds the following remarks on the attitude of the city-Arab to the fellah:

The townsman considers himself the non plus ultra of civilization and looks with pity upon the uncultured fellah. "Ya fellah!", "You fellah!", is a usual abusive word to signify a foolish uneducated person.<sup>152</sup>

245. From what Ashkenazim knew or heard about the Arabic mode of life stem the following usages, the irony in which is obvious:

\* du vest zayn a rov [Heb. רב] in *salva'n*, 'You will be a Rabbi in *salvan*.'

*salvan* is a Yiddish form for the Arabic village of *silwān*, south-east of Jerusalem, changed from the Greek *silōam*, the Biblical שלום (Isaiah 8:6).

In the past there was a small settlement עזרת נדחים of a few score Yemenite Jews in its vicinity founded by Sephardim in 1882, when the first Yemenite families arrived in Jerusalem.

\* du vest zayn a da'yen [Heb. דין] in *lifte*, 'You will be a religious judge in *lifte*.'

*lifte*, probably the Biblical נפתח (Joshua 15:9, 18:15), was an Arab village, north-west of Jerusalem, known for its "tough fellows" and bloody occurrences. One can imagine how a "religious judge" would fare there...

246. From their own experience many Ashkenazim know that an inseparable implement of the Arab is his *šibri'ye* = شبرية *šibriye* = a short double-edged dagger. — See also *nabbūt*, No. 138.

151. *Reminiscences etc.*, 17.

152. See his *Volksleben im Lande der Bibel* (Leipzig, 1903), 8.

\* ...t'er [hot er] aroysgekhapt a šibri'ye un t'zakh [hot zikh] gevorf'n af em, '...So he drew a šibri'ye and jumped at him.'

247. Superstition and popular belief in supernatural powers are wide-spread among the various sections of the populace in Palestine. They cross "national" boundaries. It is common to find members of one creed applying for help in time of distress to the "saints" of another denomination, whose response is regarded as effective. That is the basis for the following saying:

\* di *khare'mkes* zaynen eykh geven bam ca'dik [Heb. צדיק 'pious man, saint, Hasidic Rabbi'], 'The veiled [Muslim] women too, paid a visit to the saint.'

*khare'mkes* — a Yiddish plural form of sing. *khare'mke* = Ar. حريم *ḥarīm*, 'Muslim woman', plus feminine suffix *-ke*.

An ordinary woman in Arabic is امرأة, colloq. *marā*, but a Muslim woman is generally called حُرْمَة *ḥurme* (pl. حريم). A special room in an Arab house (of peasants and townsfolk), where no stranger is allowed to pass over the threshold, is called *ḥarīm*,<sup>153</sup> whence the *Harem* in European languages (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 42; Littmann, *Wörter*, 21; Lokotsch, 819). To the root of this word, but with the meaning of unholy as shown below, we probably have to connect the Heb. הרמון in the Biblical passage והשלכתנה ההרמונה (Amos 4: 3).<sup>154</sup>

The root حرم has also a connotation of illicit, tabu (as in عرم crime, and حرامي thief, dishonest man) and holiness at the same time and is closely connected to the Heb. חרם. The relation between these ideas is summarized by W. F. Albright as follows:

"The best illustration of the interpretation of these concepts is found in the various meanings of the stem. *ḥrm* is Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew. Arabic *ḥaram* means "what is tabu", both because it is illicit or because it is particularly sacred; *ḥaram* and *ḥarīm* mean also "sacred precincts"; *ḥarām* means "illicit, improper", even "abominable". In Hebrew the denominative verb *heḥrim* means both "to devote something

153. See T. Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House*, JPOS, XIII (1933), 51. In another paper (Unwritten Laws affecting the Arab Woman in Palestine, *ibid.*, XI [1931], 184) Canaan remarks that *el-maḥram* is the part of the Bedouin tent reserved for the women.

154. Cf. Commentary to Amos by Hirsch Perez Chajes [Khayes], in Abraham Kahana edition (Kiev, 1907), 91.

to destruction as abominable" and "to consecrate something to God as sacred".<sup>155</sup>

*khare'mkes*, Muslim women, also appear to seek help at the annual celebrations at the tombs of R. Meir ba'al Hanes [ר' מאיר בעל הנס, the Tanai R. Meir the miracle-performer] at Tiberias, and of R. Šim'on b. Yoḥai at Miron, near Safed (See p. 168, above), each one of them being considered a *nebi*, a prophet.

Arabs, women included, pay homage also at the tomb of *nebi suḡūd* — the Arabic name for נבי סגוד (Exodus 31:6) who is, according to a tradition, buried near the village of Suḡūd, near Sidon. The festival in his honor takes place right after the Jewish holiday of Pentecost, about which we are informed in one of the itineraries:

About two hours [ride] from Sidon are buried four saints who are very famous there: One is Oholiab, the son of Ahisamakh... who is highly regarded even among the gentiles, and they also come to his tomb. And the custom is that whoever comes to his tomb, extends presents as his heart wishes.<sup>156</sup>

The author of *חבנת ירושלים*, a description of Palestine (Jerusalem, 1844) relates:

This place [suḡūd] is about three hours [ride] from Sidon, and there is a courtyard with houses, and inside is a fine, large building [which is] the tomb of Oholiab. Jews and gentiles from the country, from near and far, come there to make their vows and give charity for his soul. And in time of distress among gentiles, they make vows for his sake.<sup>157</sup>

248. From what is heard or seen at an Arab wedding ceremony when the female friends of the bride assemble to take part in the festival by making their "dul-dul" exclamations, originates the sayings:

\* o, di arabkes *dale'len* šeyn, 'O, the Arab women already ululate [their dul-dul!]'.

\* men *dale'let* šeyn vi af an arabišer kha'sene [Heb. חתונה wedding], 'They shout already as at an Arab wedding' — said about a noisy gathering.

155. See his *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), 321, n. 45.

156. ערות ביהוסף An itinerary of Palestine in the years 1760—1762 by R. Joseph Sofer, edited by I. Ben-Zvi (Jerusalem, 1933), 29.

157. Cf. the writer's notes, Concerning a Strange Custom, *Pivobleter*, V (1933), 404—406.

*dale'ten*, a Yiddish infinitive-form for Ar. دال dallal = to exclaim (especially at a public auction. Cf. *dallāl*, No. 140)

249. A similar expression, from the same festive occasion, is \* *zey de'bken* — infinitive of Ar. دبك dabbaḳ (liter. to stamp, to make noise by stamping = they dance the *de'bke* (Ar. دبكة), cadenced dance, the most popular dance among the fellāḥīn at a wedding, circumcision ceremony, or at a *zyāra*, visit at the tombs of relatives.

250. Arab women are also known by the colors, mostly "loud", with which they used to paint themselves, and which strike the eye, the most popular being *khi'ne* = حننا ḥinnā = henna [of the plant *Lawsonia inermis*], used as a red dye for the finger nails, and *ku'khle* = كحل kuḥl = [the azure-colored] antimony, used as mascara for the eyes.

*khi'ne* should not be confused with *quinine* (Ar. كينا), the preventive remedy against malaria, which is pronounced similarly in Palestine Yiddish.

For *hinna* we have the following notation by R. Joseph Schwarz, a famous Jewish Palestinograph (born 1804 in Bavaria, died 1865 in Jerusalem):

Kopher כופר (Spice-pink?), Al China, does not grow in Palestine, but is imported by the Mahometan pilgrims from Mekka. It is pounded, and is used by Turkish women to paint their faces and nails.<sup>158</sup>

The Talmudist Moses Nachmanides, the רמב"ן, writes in his commentary on the Pentateuch, of Genesis 49:12 חכלילי עינים... והוא כעין [= מכלול העינים וכן שמו בערבי אל כחול ] אלאחל [...and that is as the blue of the eyes, and so is its name in Arabic *al-kḥūl* [kuḥl].<sup>159</sup>

כחל is the explanation for the Biblical פוך as in II Kings 9:30 (וחשם בפוך עיניה) which is rendered by P[aul] H[aup]: "She dressed her eyes with kohl, or in common American parlance, she 'fixed' her eyes with black paint."<sup>160</sup>

158. Joseph Schwarz, *Descriptive Geography... of Palestine...* Translated by Isaac Leiser (Philadelphia, 1850), 317.

159. See J. Perles, Über den Geist des Commentars des R. Moses ben Nachman etc., *MGWJ*, VII (1858), 87, n. 9. Comp. also Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, III, 1544, n. 3.

160. *Polychrome Bible*, 1904, 225. See also Löw, *Flora*, II, 14—15. The passage חכלילי עינים מין is usually rendered: "His eyes shall be red with wine."

Of Arabs bearing titles, the Ashkenazim know the following:

251. *khadž* (pl. *kha'džes*) = حجاج *ḥağğ* (pl. حجاج *ḥuğğāğ*) [Comp. Heb. חגג, meaning 'apparently 'to dance''] = usually, a pilgrim who has completed his pilgrimage to Mecca (and Medina), the duty of every Muslim.<sup>161</sup> But, in the Old Yishuv the word has a different meaning, that of *watchman*. The *kha'džes* were hired by Ashkenazim chiefly to guard their quarters (perhaps for the only reason that as pilgrims they knew old as well as "new" faces).

For an additional meaning, connected with that of pastime, see *kha'dževen*, No. 415.

252. *šekh* (pl. *še'khes*) = شيخ *šēḥ* (pl. شيوخ *šuyūḥ*, or مشايخ *mašāyih*) = a prominent old man, chief of a Bedouin tribe, or one ordained to teach the Šarī'ah, the religious Muslim law. In connection with the latter, Ashkenazim combined it with ישיבה (pronounced in Yiddish *yešī've*), Talmudical academy [for the Ar. مدرسة *madrāse*], in the saying:

\* dorn iz geven a yešive fun die *še'khes*, 'There was an academy of the sheikhs.'

In the history of the Ashkenazic community in Hebron, there is a curiosity connected with a certain sheikh, which is still told nowadays:

A century ago the Ashkenazim in Hebron were well aware of the *šēḥ* 'abd er-raḥmān of the nearby village dūra, where he, together with his brothers, would collect sizeable sums for "protection" or ransom against roving bands. The Jewish collectors of charity for Palestine abroad had to set aside a special account for that purpose, and until the year 1849 he was registered in their record books under the name of "the black Rabbi" (הרב השחור).<sup>162</sup>

253. *efe'ndi* = أفندي *efendi*, the former Turkish title for a *high official*, is rather related to the higher *social* standing of its bearer and especially designates a wealthy man. Thus in saying \* er iz a raykher *efendi*, 'He is a rich efendi', an Ashkenazi would think rather of a wealthy Arab owning

161. For its derivations in European languages, see Lokotsch, 777.

162. Israel S. Horowitz, *Palestine and the Adjacent Countries* (Hebrew) I, (Vienna, 1923), 254; A. J. Levanon, ילקוט חברון in the daily *Haarex*, Tel-Aviv, November 17, 1935.

real estate such as orange groves, and herds of cattle. This word however was originally added to the name of an official, e.g. mahmud efendi.

As to the etymology of *efendi*, Littmann, *Wörter*, 36, makes the following remark: "Das Wort kommt aus dem griechischen *authentēs* [audentys], das neugriechisch in der Anrede *afthendi* gesprochen wurde." Comp. also Lokotsch, 557. — Cf. *khava'dža*, No. 87.

254. *mu'fti* = *الفتي*; *muftī* = expounder of the law of the Qurān by issuing a *فتوى* *fatwa*, a decision of the šarī'ah, from *أنى* to give such a decision.

On various occasions people of the older generation tell of their friendly relations with *mu'ftis* of past days, who, in return for a *bakšiš*, rendered favorable services.

255. In addition to the *mufti* the *ima'm* is also known to Ashkenazim in the Old City of Jerusalem, in the neighborhood of the larger mosques, or *meče'tn* as they are known in Palestine Yiddish.

*ima'm* = *إمام* 'imām = the reader of the Qūran, standing before (Ar. *أمام*) the congregation assembled in the mosque on Friday. The reading is done in a melodic voice resembling the tremolo chanting of the *khazn* [Heb. *חזן* 'cantor', a word of unknown origin] in the Synagogue. (See also Lokotsch, 905).

*meče'tn* — Pl. of *meče't*, a word of late penetration into Yiddish from Russian or Polish, corrupted from Ar. *مسجد* *mesğed* = place of worship, mosque.

Of the several forms of the word in European languages [Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 68; Lokotsch, 1435], Jewish writers used *מוסקיטה*, *מאשקית* (Italian *meschita*), and *מעסי* (from German *Moschee*), as shown in the following quotations:

1. From a letter of R. Obadiah da Bertinoro, 1486:

And in the courtyard of the Synagogue [in Jerusalem], close to it, there is a pulpit and a moscheta of the Arabs.<sup>163</sup>

(ובחצר בית הכנסת קרוב לו מאד יש במה ומוסקיטה לישמעאלים)

2. From the itinerary *ביהוסף* of 1760—1762, by R. Joseph Sopher:

163. Quoted in *Jewish Historical Literature* (See n. 149, p. 219),



The earthquake in Jerusalem was not as strong as in Safed, and no harm was done to the *maschet-houses* of the Arabs with the exception of one at the Walling Wall, which was as a Christian Church in Poland, a very large and beautiful building. It collapsed and was destroyed.<sup>164</sup>

(ובירושלים לא היה כ"כ רעש כמו בצפת, ולא עלה היקף כלל בבתי המאשקית של הישמעאלים) [שהיה להם אצל הפותל (של) מערבי... הוא היה כמו בית תפלת הנוצריים] בפולניא, היה בנין גדול מאד ונפלא(ה) זה נחרב ונפל עד היסוד).

3. In the itinerary ספר ידי משה of 1769, by R. Moshe Yerushalmi, we read:

To the west [of Safed] is buried R. Eliezer b. Jacob ונקי, and over him [his tomb] is erected a monument called in Arabic *mesi* [Moschee].<sup>165</sup>

(אויף מעריב זייט ליגט ר' אליעזר בן יעקב קו ונקי אונט איבער איהם איין ציון גיבויאט הייטש בלשון ערביים מעסי).

Some expressions from Arabic life are used by Ashkenazim with a different meaning from that in Arabic, e.g.:

256. Thus, of a building as tall and narrow as the minaret [Ar. منارة light-tower] of a mosque, the saying goes:

\* s'iz a lange *džami'e*, 'It is a tall building.' [liter. *džamie* is Ar. جامع *gāmi'* = Mosque].

The primary function of the *džamie* is, of course, known to Ashkenazi Jews among whom — especially by some in Jerusalem — the pronunciation *dža'mdže* may also be heard.

257. An expression, which in its nature is one of derision, used in preparing a vegetable-salad, is:

\* lomir makhn a *sala't-mkha'mad*, 'Let's prepare a ...'

Concerning it, I was given the following explanation: There is an Arabic expression صلى على النبي *ṣalli 'alā an-nabī* = Pray for the [soul of the] prophet [Muḥammad] which an Arab repeats countless times inquiring after the meal is served from an invited guest about the welfare of his friends and acquaintances. Whence the Ashkenazim have coined this expression of derision while sitting at the table.

But *sala't mkha'mad* [*salāta muḥammad*], I presume, means rather a *salad prepared in the Arab manner*.

164. I. Ben-Zvi edition (Jerusalem, 1933), 15.

165. Edition Tel-Aviv, 1938 (See n. 88, p. 36), 25.

For a similar expression of derision, *kha'mdi dralala'*, See No. 41.

Words from the realm of the Muslim religion, or religious customs, are:

258. *ne'bi mu'sa* = *נבי מוסי* *nebi musa* = The prophet Moses, who is celebrated in a holiday of the same name, occurring usually in the week of the Jewish Passover and Christian Easter, when Arabs from all over the country assemble in Jerusalem. From there a multi-colored procession proceeds to the alleged tomb of "nebi mūsa", four hours' walking distance from Jerusalem, on the road to Jericho. The procession is the occasion for various "fantazias", "fancy shows", and masterly sword-brandishing among contesting groups.

259. *ramada'n* = *رمضان* *ramaḍān* = the month of fasting, regarded as holy among Muslims. Its time is not fixed in relation to the Gregorian calendar and it occurs variably in summer (mainly at the end of the season, in September) or in winter. In accordance with the religious law, no Muslim is allowed to eat or drink "from the time when one is unable to distinguish between a dark or a white thread until sunset." The fasting is therefore done in the day-time, while the night is for eating and drinking. The fast month usually concludes with three festival days, when young and old engage in festivities, in visiting friends and enjoying themselves.

260. *ma'sbakhe* = *مسبحة* *masbaḥa* = rosary. Muslims hold in their hands a string of ninety-nine beads by which a series of prayers are counted while uttering the name of Allāh. A bead is then passed between the fingers, and it is the duty of every Muslim to repeat the count of beads as many times as possible during the day.<sup>166</sup>

Sephardic Jews took over the custom of holding the *masbaḥa*, using it especially on Saturday nights, and counting beads while uttering the name of "אליהו הנביא", 'the prophet Elijah'.

But there is an ironic twist, discounting the piety of one holding a *masbaha*, when an Ashkenazi says:

166. Cf. Joseph Meyouhas, *הפלחים* (Jerusalem, 1937), 159 (n. 7).

\* er lozt dokh die *ma'sbekhe* fun hant nit aroys!, 'He is not letting the *ma'sbekhe* out of his hand!'

For the custom of the *masbaha* among Sephardim, we have the observation of R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenicer:

To inform you of some of the customs of the Sephardic Jews called *frenken*... It is the custom of the men to carry always with them a string of black beads, numbering one hundred and thirty, corresponding to one hundred and thirty times [of mentioning the name] of the prophet Elijah, — of blessed memory — and he always twists it in his hand.<sup>167</sup>

261. *ziya're* (also *zya're*) = زيارة *zyāra* = visit, pilgrimage, the use of which is heard in:

\* geyn af a *ziya're*, substituting for the general Yiddish saying, geyn af key'ver o'ves [Heb. קבר-אבות], 'To visit the graves of parents.'

Derivations from it are *ža'ren*, *dža'ren*, instead of *za'ren*, a Yiddish infinitive-form for Ar. زار *zār*, 'to visit', and *žaratli'ye*, a collective designating the Greek-Orthodox pilgrims, chiefly from Russia (also known in another Yiddish form *bogomo'lces*, for Russ. *bogomolcy*).

\* kum mir'n *džaren* cu di cadi'kim [Heb. צדיקים] 'Let us visit [the tombs of] the saint'. An expression which I heard in Safed.

In the book of regulations and customs current among Sephardim in Jerusalem, we read:

Whoever among the residents of the Holy City Jerusalem — may it be rebuilt and reestablished — goes to Jaffa — may it etc. — for the purpose of travelling by sea, or goes to Shechem or to Hebron — may it be etc. — to make a *ziyareh*, he has to pay [a tax] to the community.<sup>168</sup>

(כל מי שהולך ליפו ת"ו [תבנה ותכונן] מתושבי עה"ק [עיר הקודש] ירושלים ת"ו כדי ללכת דרך ים או לשכם או לחברון ת"ו לעשות זייארה צריך שיפרע להבולל).

262. A talisman against the evil eye, a popular belief taken over from the Arab neighbors, is a *kha'mse* = خمسة *hamse* (liter. five) — a hand, with five fingers widely spread painted blue, in itself a protective color, over the door-post, or in the form of a metal charm, chiefly of silver, hanging on a small chain round the neck.

167. *Sepher Korothe Ha'ittim*, 23b—24a.

168. ספר החקנות... ומנהגים הנהגים מעה"ק... ירושלים (Jerusalem, 1883), 37a.

For the procedure performed against the evil eye, the saying is:

\* men leygt a *kha'mse* kegn an an-ho're [Heb. עין הרע], 'To put down a kh. against an evil eye.'

The contact of Ashkenazim with Christians, who are generally called *no'crim* [Heb. נוצרים], is far more tenuous than that with the Moslems, and the expressions concerning them are very few — a situation which again reflects itself in the Palestine Yiddish. Of the common related expressions, are the following:

263. *der* = دیر, *dēr*=Convent, usually meant the *Greek* Convent, well known to Jews who rent much of its extensive real estate in Jerusalem.

\* di hayzer gehern cum grikhišn *der*, 'The buildings belong to the Greek Convent'.

\* der *der* hot fardungen di hayzer, 'The Convent leased the buildings.'

The two words "der *der*" are pronounced as blended together into one word, with the accent on the last syllable, — *derde'r*.

264. *batra'k* = baṭrak (liter. Patriarch), the square, with numerous stores, in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

Fraenkel, 276, indicates that this word appears in two forms: بطرياق from Greek *patriarchēs* and بطريق originating in *patrikios*, and that the vocalization in the فمليل -formation is a loan-word from the Syriac *patrikin*.

265. *moskobi'e* (popularly known as *der rusișer plac*) — the spacious square, behind Jaffa Road in Jerusalem, owned by the Greek-Orthodox Mission, where the Russian Church buildings to house the pilgrims as well as a hospital are located. In the past various administrative offices of the Palestine Mandate Government were housed there.

## CHAPTER VII

## HOUSE, KITCHEN AND UTENSILS

Before proceeding with the expressions themselves, let us acquaint ourselves with a house and its belongings in a Jewish quarter. At the same time this will give us a linguistic picture of the language elements — Yiddish, Hebrew, Arabic, Ladino, Turkish — connected with it (all explained in their proper order s.v.).

A number of houses with *ki'pes* (Heb. כפּוֹת, pl. of כּפּה 'vaulted chamber') together form a *kho'cer* (Heb. חצר 'courtyard'; pl. חצרים), and a large number, a few score perhaps, *khacey'rim* make up a *štetl*, a quarter. The whole *kho'cer*, including the houses, is built of stone — a material found in abundance in Palestine. It is paved with *bala'tes*, and in the center is located a *bor* or *bey'res* (Heb. בּוֹר, 'cistern'; pl. בּוֹרוֹת). Here rain-water, flowing down from the flat roofs during the rainy season, through sheet-metal *kana'les*, is stored for the rest of the year. Water from the cistern is drawn up in a *ku'be*, and should the latter fall in, it is lifted out with a *ga'ndzie*.

Inside, the Ashkenazic courtyard is bare, whereas Sephardim and Yemenite Jews decorate theirs with pots of flowers and plants, chiefly *kundža'yes* and *ru'de*, the latter used as spices in the ceremony of ushering out the Sabbath.

The walls of the houses, as well as the paving stones in the yard, are painted a blue-lime color — a guard against the evil eye and evil spirits.

In almost every courtyard are to be found an *amba'r*, where coal, rags, tin cans and utensils not for immediate use are stored away; a *magza'n* under the house, for wine storage; and a *khaza'ne*.

Outside, attached to the house, is the *kuzi'ne* with a clay oven for cooking. Here one may find a *tona'ze* full of water, a *dža're* filled with *zeytu'nes* or oil, bottles of *ši'res*, a *lubri'kl* milk etc.

The first room on entering the house is a *luga'n*, which serves chiefly as a dining room, while in many of the *luga'nes* beds are placed for sleeping on at night or for resting on in the afternoon. In addition there is a living-room, called *salo'n*. Here *pavilyo'nen* hang over the windows.

Here, hanging from the center of the *ki'pe*, is a *bli'clomp* — a large naphtha lamp, with a *ferciker gloz* giving light and heat at the same time. Rather long "crystal" prisms hang round it, shimmering and glittering in a variety of colors.

On the walls of the salon one may see old-style family photographs, pictures of Moses Montefiore, Baron Hirsch, or the "vilner go'en" the Gaon of Vilno, or other prominent Rabbis, "Moses, and Aaron in his priestly attire", or exotic pictures of tiger-hunting in India and the like.

In winter the house is heated with a *manga'l* on which charcoal "*ža'ren*", placed in it after being made red-hot outside the house. To take hold of the charcoal one uses a *maša'r*. It is a special joy to roast *kaba'b* on the glowing coal. But if one wishes to *pra'žen kada'mes*, a *sakhte'n* comes in very handy.

To clean the house, especially in preparation for the Sabbath, a *spo'ndže* is made with the *spondžedo'r*, and when one goes to the public bath he first makes sure that he has a *kalu'p* soap and a *paštema'l* with which to dry himself.

This description could be added to with further details known to the writer from personal observation, but this will suffice. What I would like to point out is that life in the Near East does not change rapidly, and the people cling to traditions whether of spiritual or material culture. Thus, the "human climate" is not different from the physical climate. While the latter preserves artifacts in the ground, men do the same over the generations on it.

Also of ancient usage are the flat roof-tops and cisterns in Palestine, which go back to pre-Biblical times, as evidenced by archaeology, and continue down through the ages, as attested by the following quotations from late Jewish sources — itineraries and letters:

Moses Preger writes about buildings in Jerusalem, 1650:

Each house has a large, well-plastered underground cistern closed

on top. It has only a small opening through which water flows and out of which it is drawn.<sup>169</sup>

More details are given by R. Gedalye Semyaticer, in 1700:

The whole city [of Jerusalem] is made up of courtyards [חצירות] full of buildings, and throughout Jerusalem there is not even one house standing by itself without [being included in] a courtyard. And the yards and buildings are all made of hewn stones... for wood is not available, and stones are in abundance, in accordance with the Biblical passage 'a land whose stones are iron' [Deut. 8:9]. The houses in almost all the yards are on top of each other, and each house has a vaulted ceiling also made of stone, and not of wood, as in these countries [Poland, Lithuania].<sup>170</sup>

A similar account is given in a Yiddish letter from Safed, written about 1819:

There are many houses here for sale, with fine cisterns and good water [which is] even better than spring-water. But all houses are without [tiled] roofs, and they are only vaulted and plastered on top with maltur [plaster?].<sup>171</sup>

The picture remains unchanged in 1834 when R. Menahem-Mendl Kamenicer informs us:

The houses [in Jerusalem] are beautiful, without roofs but vaulted, and the roof is made of hard-pressed clay, plastered on top with *kaser mil* [Ar. *quşrmal*, plastering material] which looks glazed so that rain will not flow into the houses.<sup>172</sup>

As for water in Palestine, they still use rain-water... In each courtyard there are large cisterns paved with stones so that the water would not be absorbed into the ground. It is covered on top with a stone, and the water runs through the pipes on the roof-tops right into the cistern, and it is pretty good.<sup>173</sup>

We pass now to the various expressions relating to the house, kitchen and utensils.

266. *luga'n* (of Turkish origin?) — a room serving simultaneously as dining- and living-room.

267. *khoš* = حوش, *hōš* = yard, especially in *front* of the house, where one may sometimes find a stall for goats, chickens and the like (Cf. *BW*, 171: Hof eines grösseren Hauses).

169. In his itinerary דרכי ציון (Yiddish), 4b.

170. *Reshumoth*, II, 457.

171. Quoted by Philip Friedman (see n. 61, p. 183), 270.

172. *Sepher Koroṯh Ha'ittim*, 16b.

173. *Ibid.* 19b.

268. *džo're* = حجرة *ğōra* = cesspit, here — latrine c. (also, a cistern to store water for use other than drinking).

\* men darf oysramen di *džore*, 'The latrine-cesspit should be cleaned.'

BW, 153: Grube *ğora*: *ğumar*.

From the regulations of the quarter Meah She'arim:

"Members who do not build their houses during the [first] ten years of the society... and they have to buy water for building purposes, are allowed to take water in the winter [rainy] season, from the *džores*.<sup>174</sup>

(האנשים אשר לא יבנו בתיהם במשך העשרה שנים של בנין החברה... ועליו לקנות מים לצורך הבנין, ובימות החורף יכול ליקח מהדז'אָרעס).

269. *ha'vye* = حايه *hāwiye* = (liter. abyss, depth) = cave, reservoir (BW, 4: Abgrund, 346: Unterwelt).

\* grobndik in der erd, hot men gefunen a *ha'vye*, 'While digging in the ground, they found a cave.'

A few Arabic expressions in connection with storage are:

270. *amba'r* (pl. *amba'rn*) = أنبار (pl. أنبار) *anbār*, pronounced in colloquial Ar. 'ambar (BW, 300: Speicher) = storehouse, for keeping chickens or the like, has an additional meaning in Palestine Yiddish: a closed chest, placed against a wall in the kitchen, or in the yard, to store "coarse things" such as coal, wood, bags, a kettle for laundry, etc.

The Ar. أنبار is the Persian loan-word أنبار *ānbār* (Fraenkel, 136; Lokotsch, 77) of which an artificial singular *nibr* was formed later, and under this stem the word is to be found in Arabic dictionaries (Cf. Hoffman, ZDMG, XXXII [1878], 761, note).

The assimilation *n* > *m* (in *anbār* > *ambār*) is due to labial *b*.

271. Approximate in function, but different in form, is *khaza'ne* (pl. -s) خزانة *ḥazāne* (pl. خزائن *ḥazā'in*) [from خزن to store (goods)] = closet, cupboard.

"In building *khazanes* onto the walls which form the boundary [between houses], one has to leave sufficient room so that others may build *khazanes* as well."<sup>175</sup>

(בהכותלים אשר יבנו על המיצר ויעשה בהם חאזאנעס, מחויב להשאיר מקום שגם השני יוכל לעשות חאזאנעס בצדו כמידת הראשון).

174. *Book of Regulations*, 19 (See n. 168, above).



272. Another storage-place is *magza'n* = مخزن  
*maḥzan* = cellar. (In Ar. also store-house) [Probably from French magazin as ḥ will not yield g directly. *maḥzan* is, of course, the first source.]

\* mayn feter iz geven a sey'fer stam [Heb. סופר 'scribe (of scrolls of the law)'; סת"ם, pronounced *stam*, is an abbreviation of ספר (תורה), הפילין, מזוזות 'scrolls of the Law, phylacteries, and inscriptions on the door-post] un er hot gehat a *magzan*, vu er flegt oysarbetn parmet, 'My uncle was a scribe and he had a cellar where he used to treat (prepare) parchment.'

"When one is digging a cistern or *magizahn*, he has to place the fence on the common boundary of the land." <sup>176</sup>

(אם יחפור אחד בור או מאג'זאהן, מחוייב הוא להעמיד המחיצה בקרקע על מיצר שניהם).

For the various forms of *magazine*, originating in Ar. *maḥzan*, see Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 60—61; Littmann, *Wörter*, 29; Lokotsch, 1362.

S. Fraenkel, in his paper *Orientalische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache*, suggests for magazine an origin other than Arabic: ... [Das] Wort scheint im Arabischen nicht einheimisch zu sein... die Sache wohl auf fremden Kultureinfluss zurückzuführen ist. <sup>177</sup>

273. *ma'stebe* = *maṣṭabah* (also مضطبة) *maṣṭabe* = surrounding, attachment, low stone or brick *bench* running around a room.

In the report of the Meah She'arim quarter for the year 1922, an outlay is listed, among others, for "two attachments (*mastebe*) for the [public] furnace." [שני אצטבאות (מאסטעבע) להתנור].

In Talmudic Aramaic this word is used in various forms: איסטוא, *איסטבא* (Jastrow, 54), originating in Greek stoa (whence the use in modern Hebrew אצטבא), and מסטובה, *מסטובא* (ibid., 805).

For the suggested Persian origin, see Fraenkel, 22.

274. *sunduk* = صندوق *ṣundūq* = box, chest.

This word was already known to Jews in Russia, and it is pronounced in the same manner, and not as in colloquial Arabic *ṣandūq* (*BW*, 183: Kasten).

See also Lokotsch, 1826.

275. Another word brought from Russia and used in connection with the house, is *fana'r*, also to be found in Arabic فانار *fanār* (Löhr, 121; *BW*, 202: Lampion, lists also *finjar*).

176. *Book of Regulations*, 24.

177. Published in *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde*, I (Breslau, 1895/96), Heft II, No. 1, 8.

**Courtesy of Mr. Gershon Cohen, Jerusalem**

[illegible]

ישראל יתקן ויהיה כבודו גדול ויהיו כל ישראל נאמנים לו  
ועל ידי זה יהיה שם ה' מבורך ויהיו כל ישראל נאמנים לו

**בע"ה**

תוקף כתב התקשרות (קאנטראקט) הנעשה בין ר' לייזר ב"ר ש' שניידמאן לבין ר' יוסף ב"ר ש' שניידמאן, על אלו הפרטים המבוארים הלאה !

א. ר' אלעזר ב"ר אברהם התחייב א"ע לבנות עלי' להאשה מרת בריינע הנז' על גב ביתה במאה שערים ת"ר ארבעה דפנות. עובי הכתלים יהי' ששים צענטים מעטער משני אבנים מהצדדים גיטשעשעטע היטב צפון ודרום וכותל מזרח ומערב מאבנים פשוטים הנקראים גיקאשעבעטע. בכותל צפון של צד הדרך של השולטאן יהיה שני חלונות ופתח אחד באמצע מאבני קאקולי בלי באראק. ובאליקאן בכותל הנז' מארבעה שינעס באורך ארבעה מעטער ורוחב אחד מעטער מרופצים בקרשים טובים ומעקה להבאליקאן הנז' קני' ברזל תחובים בקורות משופצים עם קארניצען. ובכותל דרום יעשה ג"כ שני פתחים וחלון באמצע מאבני קאקולי בלי באראק וארכם ורחבם כמו אצל בתה סאטיל ממש וגובה העליה ג"כ כמו אצל בתה סאטיל הנז'.

**ב** עוד התחייב ר"א באר הנו' לחלק העליה הנו' לשלשה חזרים בפנים בדולמעס טובות מן 6 X 12 שהיו בית גדול ובית קטן ולוגאן וסופיס כמו אצל בתה סאסיל הנו' ופאלעסעס טובה לבינה ע"ג שחורה ושלשה שאפעס מחויב ר"א הנו' לעשות באיזה מקום שתראה בריינע הנד עם דלתות וזכוכית ובאשלאגען וצבע הכל כמו אצל בתה סאסיל. ולעשות בכותל דרומי באלקאן ע"פ רוחב כל החצר יהיה ארכו ורחבו יהיה מעטער אחד ושמונים צענטימעטער מן שלשה שינעס 18 צענער עם כיפה אבני נארי ופאלעסעס עם דוועס מסותתים היטב היינו מקודם לבנות על החצר משני הצדדים מורח ומערב שני כתלים כל אחד ברוחב שני מעטער ותאוצאר מלאקט בעובי 40 צענטימעטער כגובה הבית התחתונה ואח"כ להניח עליהם הבאליקאן הני"ל. ולעשות פתח בהבית הגדולה מן הלוגאן אל הבית ס"ה בהעליה הנו ארבעה דלתות ושלשה חלונות ושלשה מגדלות (שאפעס) וכולם יהיו מעץ טוב עם באשלאגען וזכוכית וצבע

## Continuation:

ומפתחות וריגלען וכל דבר השייך להם כמו גראטעס וכדומה והבאליקאן הנז' ירצוף אותו ר"א באר הנז' בבאלאטעס צעמענט אשר מקחם תשעה גרוש כל אמה ומעקה להבאלקאן בקני ברזל תחובים בקורות משופצים עם קארניצען כנ"ל ולכסות העלי בגג קאראמיד טוב וכל הבאשלאגען השייכים להם מקרעשין  $6 \times 12$  ובלאפאן ומסמרים וכדומה וכל דבר הנצרך להגג ויומשך הגג גם על הבאליקאן דרומי ולצד הבית מורת ומערב וכולי על הבאלקאן הנז' יותן צינורות מצינק שיומשך למטה עד הבור. ולעשות מדריגות לעלות להעליה מדריגות בית זאלע דזקא ברוחב א מעטער כל אחד רחבות ונמוכות עם מעקה להם בקני ברזל תחובות בקורות משופצים וקארניזן כנז' ולהעמיד שני קווינעס של עץ בשני צידי הבאלאקאן הדרומי כמי שתראה האשה בריינע הנז' ולכחול שני הכתלים דרום וצפון מחוץ בכחול טוב שחור כנהוג עצהי"ט — באלאטעס להעליה הנז' צעמענט ממין הטוב כמו אצל כל העליות ולתת סיד על כל הבנין בשופי כפי שיעידו הבע"מ הבקיאין בבנין כי כן הוא הוא המידה מים והוצאות הרוכסא כמה שיעלה הכל חל על ר' לייזער הנז' לשלם וכל דבר צריך להיות משוכלל ומיופה כראוי ומחויב ר"א הנז' להעמיד הבנין הנז' עד ר"ח חשוון תרס"ג בהאי שתא הבע"ל — והאשה בריינע המז' מחויבת ליתן לר' אלעזר הנז' עבור הבנין הנז' סך תשעים נאפאליען ונתינת המעות היא בזה האופן תחילת פרעון צריך האשה בריינע ליתן לרא' הנז' סך שמונה נאפי' להוצאת הרוכסא וכדומה בעת שיתנו הבאראטיש של החלונות סך שבעה נאפי' אחר שייגמר בנין הכתלים סך שמונה נאפי' להוצאות על הגג וקאראמיד וכו' סך עשרה נאפאליען זהב עבור המדריגות חמשה נאפי' על הבאלאקאנעס חמשה נאפי' עבור השטאלארקע היינו פתחים וחלונות וכו' שמונה נאפי'. עבור באלאטעס שמונה נאפאליען זהב עבור שילום הכתלים לבתה טאסיל סך אחד עשר נאפאליען זהב סך הכל שבעים נאפי' ועשרים נאפי' תתן האשה בריינע הנז' לר"א הנז' כאשר יגמור אי"ה כל המלאכה עד מסירת המפתחות בשלימות כנוי אין ביד אחד מהצדדים לשנות מכל מה שכתוב בהקאנטראקט הנוכחי אף בקוצו של יוד כי כל הנ"ל נעשה בינינו החתומים מטה בקנא"ס במדל"ב כתק' ח"זל דלא ודלא וכו' בביטול ובפיטול וכו' לדעת הרשב"א ז"ל ובכל אופן היותר מועיל לדעת ח"זל והקאנטראקט הזה נעשה בתקפו ככל שטרי קאנטראקט דנהיגין ועשוין בישראל וכנימוס המיר"ה דלא למיהדר שום אחד מהצדדים הנז' ובאופן דלית ב"י אונאה כלל וכלל ולראי' בעה"ח יום ג' ר"ח אלול שנת תרס"ב לפ"ק פעה"ק ירושלים ת"ו

נאום לייזער באר ונאום במס"ק אהרן הכהן

בפנינו עדים הח"מ חתמו וקבלו ע"צ ר' לייזער באר והאשה בריינע הנז' הכל כמפורש לעיל מרישא לסיפא ולראי' בעה"ח יום חורש ושנת פעה"ק הנז'

נאום מאיר שמעון שפירא ונאום ש מרדכי

Russian *fonar'* as well as Ar. فانار is a loan-word from Greek fanarion (Littmann, *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, 92).

Numerous words came from Arabic (or Turkish) designating vessels for *water*, often precious in a country depending upon the blessing of heaven. These vessels, large and small, are:

276. *ku'be* = Turkish قوغا qogha, guva = bucket (penetrated perhaps via Ladino *cuva* [Cf. Luria, *Monastir Dialect*, 551]). The Arabic word كباية colloquial *kubbāye*, is close to it in sound only, but different in meaning — drinking-glass [It is *kupa* in Ladino (Wagner, *Beiträge*, 180)].

277. When a *ku'be* falls into the cistern, it is lifted out by means of a *ga'ndžie* = Turkish *kanğ'a* (Lokotsch, 1056) [in Ladino — *kanča'* (Wagner, *ibid.*, 162)] = a hook.

278. *dža're* (pl. -s) = جرة ġarra (pl. جرار ġrār) = earthenware jar, in which water is usually kept. (BW, 196: Krug der Frauen z[um] Wasserholen, nach unten weit; Lokotsch, 688). There is also a Yiddish diminutive-form: *dža'rke*. — Cf. *yām fī ġarra*, No. 94.

Arab, as well as Yemenite women, are still keeping the custom of carrying the *džare*, full of water, on their heads.

279. *šo'rbe* = شربة šarbe = water-jug, with a long narrow neck.

BW, 196: Krug; šarb|e: -at langhalsig ohne Henkel.

\* kh'hob gekeyft a *šorbe*, 'I bought a water-jug'.

280. *ibri'k* = إبريق 'ibrīq (also an abbreviated fi'il-form: brīq), a Persian loan-word (Lokotsch, 894) = water-jug, pitcher. The diminutive *ibri'kl* is, in the Yiddish manner, (*krigl*, from *krug*, pitcher).

BW, 196: Krug z[um] Trinken, allg[emein] brīq: abarīq.

Arabs keep water in it for the purpose of washing their hands before each of the five daily prayers to which a Muslim is obligated.

As the 'ibrīq is of a standard size it is also used as a measurement for liquids, and in this connection one may hear, for instance \* *an ibri'kl milkh*, 'a quart of milk'.

Another form heard is *libri'k*, which is made by the addition of the "l" of the Ar. definite article אל *al* to the noun: אלִּבְרִיק *al'ibrīq* > *al librīq* > *librīq*.

In a letter to the editor of the Hebrew labor weekly הפועל הצעיר No. 17, 22 Sivan 1919, a doctor warns his readers "not to drink water directly from an earthenware jar (*libriq*, *dğare* and the like)."

„שאסור לשחות מים ישר מכד החמר (ליברי'ק, דג'ארה וכו')."

281. Water is also kept in a *te'neke* = تِنَكَة *teneke* (from Turkish تَنَك *tänäk*, tin-plate) = tin-can of standard size.

In recent years it has been replaced by the Hebrew פח and the Yiddish *blekh*, and one may hear: "a pakh (or: a *blekh*) vaser", 'A can of water'.

The *teneke* is used especially to keep *gaz* = غَاز *ghāz* [from French *gaz*] = kerosene [Yiddish — *karesi'n*], petroleum, as well as gasoline.

BW, 66: Blechbüchse für Erdöl tänäk|e -at.

282. Water-carriers were chiefly Arabs, or Jews from the socially lower Arabic-speaking communities. Therefore the old Yiddish word *logl*<sup>178</sup> has disappeared from the vocabulary, and Ar. *ki'rbe* (pl. -s) = قِرْبَة *qirbe* (pl. قِرَب [also قِرَاب] *qirab*) = waterskin is used instead. One says \* *a kirbe mo'ye* for the Yiddish *a logl vaser*.

"The *qirab* are made from goatskins. They are small in size. The large *qirab*, *fahl*, are made in Hebron from rams' skins, hence their name."<sup>179</sup>

The *qirbe*-carrier is called *avyo* (= water-carrier in Ladino), and *tal ya avyo'*! = ta'al yā avyo! = come here, you water-carrier! is the usual interjection to attract his attention.

The water-carrier is an old-established "institution" in Palestine, and familiar to Ashkenazim ever since their arrival in the country. Thus we read in the account of Jerusalem by R. Gedalye Semyaticher:

178. It is the Middle High German *lāgel* > Middle Latin *lagellum*, little barrel. (Matthias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1926, 139). In Yiddish its meaning changed to *waterskin*, as the Biblical word נֶאֱרַךְ was translated for generations, and which the writer still remembers from his childhood in Heder (חֶדֶר religious elementary school).

179. T. Canaan, The Palestinian Arab House, *JPOS*, XIII (1933), 3.

Daily the water-carriers carry their water for sale in goat-skins... and daily they walk the streets carrying water and shouting in Arabic "moye! moye!", as the translation of water [מים] is moye.<sup>180</sup>

See also *sūs*, No. 317, and *su'snik*, No. 385.

Arabic names are also used for some kitchen- and house-utensils, e.g.:

283. *ki'dre* (pl. -s) = قدرة قدر *qidre* [Heb. קדרה pl. קדורים *qdūr*] = earthen-pot, especially for wine (*BW*, 189: [Koch]topf aus Ton).

*BW*, 189: [Koch]topf aus Ton *qidr(e)*: *qdūr*.

284. *seni'ye* (pl. -s) = صينية *ṣīniye* (pl. صواني *sawānī*) = tray, plate. It is *not* necessarily a copper plate (as noted by *BW*, 249: [präsentier]platte kupfern), but one of porcelain, china (Ar. صين *ṣīn* for China [Medieval Heb. סין] where it originates [Cf. Lokotsch, 1913], and صيني = China earthenware).

\* men flegt avekštel'n a *ki'dre* vayn, derlangen a *seni'ye* mit fiš — az s'flegt farkhapn, 'A pot of wine was served along with a tray of fish — that one would be put out of breath' (I was told by a good friend of mine relating family festivities of old times).

A copper plate for a table, is used by Sephardim:

On the floor is a small footstool, and while the meal is served, a large copper tray (called "ṣīniye") is placed on it with a white tablecloth spread over it, and the whole family sits around the small footstool.<sup>181</sup>

285. *te'ndžere* = Turkish تنجرة (spelled also طنجرة) *tengere* = a small copper pot (Cf. Lokotsch, 2066).

\* r'iz gezesn af a rogže un gezesn fun a *tendžere*, 'He sat on a mat and ate out of a pot.'

*rogže* = Russ. *rogoža*, Polish *rogoża* = mat of rushes.

286. *manga'l* = منقل *manqal* = copper brazier, or container, of large size, filled with red-hot coals, used instead of

180. *Reshumoth*, II, 476.

181. Yehoshu'a Yellin, *op. cit.*, 118.

a stove, to warm the house on cold winter days (*BW*, 190: Kohlen-becken mit [Kohlen] = glut zum sich Wärmen... mangal: manāqil) [*Lokotsch*, 1392, lists it as Turkish *mangal*].

\* loz zikh frier cuglien di keyln, un nakher vet men kenen araynnemen dem *manga'l*, 'Let the coals become red-hot, and then bring the mangal into the house'.

About the use of the mangal, we read the following:

1. Jerusalem, 1699—1706:

"In the cold season they [the inhabitants of Jerusalem] have large containers: the rich [people] — of copper, and the poor — of clay. They fill it with coal, which keeps the fire [burning], while the members of family sit around the container and warm themselves.<sup>182</sup>

2. Safed, 1834:

"In winter-time, in the cold season, they use a copper vessel called *mangal*, which is like a vase, in which they put hot coals to warm themselves.<sup>183</sup>

3. Jerusalem, 1889:

"It was not easy to attend to babies in the hot summer days; and in the season of rain and cold the room was heated as much as possible with charcoal or thin coal in a copper *mangal*... And when it rained, chairs would be placed at each side of the *mangal*, and on them the white baby diapers were hung to dry, after washing.<sup>184</sup>

287. *kara'mes*, pl. of *kara'me* = قرمية qurmīye (pl. قرامي qarāmi) [from Greek kormos, *Lokotsch*, 1256, (via *ZDMG*, LI, 301)] = stump of a tree, but in Palestine Yiddish = a large block of charcoal, a piece of wood.

*BW*, 171-172: [Holz]klotz Wurzelklotz qurmijje: qarāmi.

\* s'iz dokh loyter *kara'mes* un ništ keyn keyln, 'These are only pieces of wood, and not coal' (one may express his dissatisfaction while buying coal).

182. Saalu Šelom Yerušalaim, *Reshumoth*, II, 484.

183. Sepher Korot Ha'ittim (Hebrew) (second ed. Jerusalem, 1931), 11b. — In the Yiddish edition "copper stoves" is used instead of *mangal*.

184. Itta Yellin, חַיַּיִט ("To my Offspring"), *My Reminiscences*, II (Jerusalem, 1941), 51. In a footnote, the authoress, the late Mrs. David Yellin, explains: "The mangal is a round copper vessel, sixty centimeters high, with a hollow space inside for placing [another] copper vessel filled with red-hot coals to warm up the room, and which one may move from place to place."



288. *maša'r* = maššar (from Ar. *aššar*=to fasten tightly, to squeeze) = tongs for taking hold of hot coals from the manga'l or stove.

289. *manfu'kh* = منفاخ *manfūḥ* = bellows to stoke up the fire in the utensils mentioned above.

BW, 66: Blasebalg minfāḥ: manāfiḥ.

290. *takhtava'n* = تختروان *taḥtarwān* (a Persian loan-word in Arabic) = stretcher, litter, but in Palest. Yiddish = a collapsible bed, ready for use.

291. *paštema'l* (also *puštema'l*) = Turkish پوشمال *pūšt(e)māl*, [a Persian loan-word, Lokotsch, 1674] = a large bathing-towel.

In years past the *pūštmāl* was given as a wedding present, as told in the reminiscences of Itta Yellin:

"On the morning before the wedding day my in-laws sent me two "bogos" (bundles) ... the second containing all bathing necessities: four towels made in Constantinople... These towels were called by their Turkish name "pustmal." <sup>185</sup>

292. *tavli'ye* = طاولة (Italian loan-word *tavola*) *ṭāwle* = a low table (BW, 321: Tisch ... niedriger ~ *ṭāwl(e)*), but in Palest. Yiddish = a plank of wood or metal (mostly tin-plate), smoothed or polished, with boards on each side, on which to place loaves of bread before baking.

185. *Op. cit.*, 18.

## CHAPTER VIII

## FOOD, BEVERAGES, VEGETABLES, FRUIT

293. *pi'te* (pl. -s) = פִּיטֵה fitte = bread, somewhat flat, eaten while fresh. Its manner of baking differs between Bedouins and town people: it is thin, flat and drawn out by the former, while the latter bake it full and somewhat hard.

As there is no p-sound in Arabic, we have to assume that *pite* originates rather in the Aramaic פִּתָּה (Heb. פֶּתַח) = piece, bread.

294. *frandže'les* = rather long loaves of white bread, baked in European style (Ar. ḥubez franġella [BW, 382: Weissbrot] = "French bread").

It possibly penetrated from Ladino *franġole* originating in Modern Greek frantzola (listed by Luria, *Monastir Dialect*, 548).

295. *mukdo'n* = mukdam = breast of a slaughtered animal, usually a sheep, after the forbidden fat and veins are removed from it in accordance with the ritual law.

The butchers' terminology in Jerusalem is full of Arabic terms originating in the *basla'kh* (for Ar. maslah — see No. 388), slaughterhouse, common to the Jews and the Muslim Arabs, who, as a rule, eat meat of an animal slaughtered according to the Jewish ritual. Jews eat the flesh of the *mukdon* while Arabs use that of the hindquarters.

A *mena'ker* [Heb. מְנַקֵּךְ, one who removes the veins from meat] in Jerusalem, the son of Zalman *baslakhnik* (a watchman at the slaughterhouse), related to me:

"Ikh fleg geyn afn *basla'kh* un breyngen a *mukdo'n* cu yekhiel *he'ker* un derfar flegn mir krign a gut shtikl fleysh. ver ret, az mir obm em [mir hobn im] gebrakht a *ma'khshe* (= a *mukdo'n* fun a shof a *zo'kher* = Heb. זֶכֶר, 'male'), hobn mir demolt gekrogn gor a gut shtikl fleysh. nor nisht alemol flegt zakh [zikh] yekhiel heker neyheg

[Heb. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 'behave']: *zayn mit undz vi s'badarf cu zayn. er't* [er hot] *gehat raykhe kundn, un far zey flegt er bahalt'n in der mga'ra* [= a shafke untern tish] *dos gut shtikl fleysh.*"

"I used to go to the *baslakh* and bring along a *mukdon* to Yehiel *heker* (the butcher) who would reward me with a nice cut of beef. This reward was still better if we brought him a *makhše* (a mukdon of a male sheep. Ar. *maḥši*). But not always would Yehiel *heker* behave in this manner: he had customers who paid him well, and for them he would put away the best cuts in the *mga'ra* [Ar. مغارة drawer] "behind the counter" (Modern Heb. מגרה).

How customers in Jerusalem ninety years ago would rush to the 'baslakh' to be among the first buyers of the 'mukdon', is related in the reminiscences of Ephraim Cohen-Reiss, 23.

296. *kaba'b* = كباب *kaḇāb* [Talmudic Aramaic כפבא] = roast meat, charred on spits over red-hot coals (BW, 73: Buletten Fleisch in Würstchenform am Spiess gebraten; Lokotsch, 972).

297. *kaft'e* = Turk. کفته *köfte* (Lokotsch, 1226, Persian *küftä*) = balls of minced meat (BW, 73: Buletten Fleisch . . . flach, rund, fingerdick *kafta*, *kifta*). In its form it penetrated via Ladino.

298. *seni'ye* = specially stewed meat, with potatoes, onions and tomatoes. (BW, 427: *ṣaniije* [*ṣaniyye*]: im Backblech (*ṣaniije*) geschmortes Eintopfgericht aus Hammelfleisch, Kusa, Tomaten, Kartoffeln, Zwiebeln).

It is described with more details by Bauer, 255: *ṣaniije* eine Art Pickelsteiner Fleisch aus zerkleinertem Hammelfleisch, Kartoffelscheiben und den verschiedensten Gemüsen, in der *ṣaniije* (Backblech) im Backofen geschmort und aufgetischt.

299. *ši'res-fleyš* = tender meat of the hindquarters, so named because it is fat. *ši'res* = see *siriğ*, No. 311, below.

Of the varieties of *fish* caught in the waters of Palestine and in the Mediterranean Sea,<sup>186</sup> many are known by their Arabic names only, although the latter are sometimes corrupted from European languages. Some of those used in Jewish homes are:

186. A list with nomenclature is given by M. Zagorodsky, מזרחנו, *From our National Home* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1923), 40–42.

300. *palemi'de* = *balamāḏa* (BW, 120-121: Fisch) = pickled salted fish.

301. *skro'mberis* = skombriye (the Latin name is Scomber scomber) = mackerel.

302. *lake'rde* = salmon (usually, *Salmo salar*).

It was something new to the Lithuanian Jew R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer, as may be seen from his remark:

There is also a thick, salted fish which is sold piecemeal. It is called *lekerade* [לעקעראדע = lakerde] and it is very fat and tasty.<sup>187</sup>

303. *sardi'ne* = sardine = sardine (*Clupea sardina*).

Of milk products, the most popular are:

304. *le'ben* = لبن leben (also: laben) = sour milk.

305. *se'mne* = سمن semne = melted butter, especially for cooking and baking.

BW, 74: Koch[butter] oder [Butter]schmalz sāmne.

306. *kačkeva'l* = Turkish *kaškawal* (perhaps from Italian *caccio cavallo* [Lokotsch, 1115]), Ar. *kaškawān* (BW, 182: Edamer Käse) = fat cheese, of yellow butter color.

Other varieties of food are:

307. *sala'te* = salāṭa = a salad prepared of raw vegetables: tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, radish, parsley, khase (lettuce) — all seasoned with a little oil, salt and lemon-juice. — See also *sala't mkha'med*, No. 257.

308. *kuskesu'* = kuskesōn (also kuskusōn) = crumbs of dough, prepared a few weeks in advance, and dried in the sun (for its preparation cf. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, II, 273, 355; see also Lokotsch, 1267).

For its use among Arabs, *Bauer*, 255, notes: kusuksōn oder kuskusōn kleine Mehlkügelchen in Fleischdampf gekocht.

309. *fafe'lete rayz* = A Yiddish form of Ar. *ruzz mfelfel* = cooked rice, with the kernels whole, with coloring matter added: red — of tomatoes, or yellow — of ginger [BW, 258:

187. *Sepher Koroṭh Ha'ittim*, 21a.

gekochter [Reis] ruzz mfälfäl (weil in einz. Körnern, nicht breiig)].

A detail is added by *Bauer*, 255: "ruzz mfalfal gedämpfter, eigentlich gepfeffelter Reis," which differs, in some respect, from the manner of serving it in Jewish homes.

310. su'msum = سمسם simsim (Heb. שומשום pl. שומשמין, both Ar. and Heb. originate from Assyrian šamaššammu [Löw, *Flora*, III, 4], and from Latin *sesamon* we get *sesam* in the European languages) = sesame-seeds, used to strew on kha'le (Heb. חלה, Sabbath-loaf), tart, cakes, etc. to add flavor (for its wider use, see Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, II, 296).

311. Sumsum-seeds are mainly used for its oil, called šī'res = سیرج siriğ (from the Persian شیره) for cooking, baking and frying. The sesame oil is prepared in a primitive way in the ma'sbene = ماصبنة mašbene = soap-house (from صابون ṣābūn, soap, originating in Italian *sabon*; Talmudic Aramaic צפון, adaptation of *sapo* [Jastrow, II, 1295]). The seeds are crushed between millstones turned by a *gaml*, camel.

The waste product after the oil is pressed from the seeds, is called *ku'sbe* = كسبة kusba (Aram. כוספא דשומשמין, כוספא [Löw, *Flora*, III, 11]), used for feeding goats and sheep.

šīres is mentioned in a Yiddish account of Palestine, in 1650, by Moshe Porges, who writes:

"There are two varieties of oil, one called *siriš* (סיריש), which is pretty good, cheap, and is much better than goose fat or butter. The seed thereof is called *šumšmin*, but this is not poppy as it is explained abroad [by the מלמדים, teachers in the religious elementary schools]. Another oil is olive oil, which is cheaper than *siruš*, is not so good for lighting and that is why olive oil is not much in use.<sup>188</sup>

Nowadays, "sīridj = sesame oil, which is cheaper than olive oil, is used for the srādj = oil lamp."<sup>189</sup>

312. *tkhi'ne* = תְּחִינֶה = residue of sesame-oil, used in preparation of khala've (see below), or as an addition to some other food, as — תְּחִינֶה with honey.

188. *Darke Zion*, 4a.

189. T. Canaan, "Light and Darkness in Palestine", *JPOS*, XI (1931), 16.

It is a kind of food consumed by City Arabs, concerning which *BW*, 293, notes: Satz von [Sesam]öl ṭḥine zur ḥalāwe-Fabrikation benützt, ausserdem zu Salaten, Gemüse.

313. *khala've* [in my home town Vilno pronounced *khalva'*] = حلاوة = ḥalāwe = a sweetmeat prepared of ṭḥine, honey and some sugar (Cf. Lokotsch, 804).

It is an important addition to the daily diet of the Arab, and its value is expressed in the proverb

qālū eš aḥla min ilḥalāwe

qālū iṣ-ṣulḥ ba'd il'adāwe

"People say: what is sweeter than ḥalāwe? they say: the peace after hatred [quarrel]." <sup>190</sup>

314. *khaleko'n* = rāḥat luqūm [liter. راحة لغوم "rest (ease) of the mouthful (= gum)"] = a transparent candy made of starch, sugar, masticque, sweet pistachio and some other sweet ingredients (*BW*, 426).

*Bauer*, 256, adds some details: rūḥ-il-ḥalqūm, oder rāḥat luqūm "Ruhe des Gaumens" eine zähe, durchscheinende Süßigkeit aus Stärke, Zucker, Orangenblüttenwasser, Mastix gekocht, erkaltet und in würfelartige Stücke geschnitten.

315. *bu'za* = Turkish بوزة *būza* = ices (*BW*, 97: Speise-[Eis]).

\* *a'ba* [Heb. אבא father], keyf mir *bu'za*, 'Daddy, buy me ices.'

316. *dunderma'* = دندورمة *dundurma*, Turkish طوكدورمة *ṭūṇdurma* = ice-cream.

While selling it, the Arab "ice-cream man" sings:

dundurma, dundurma!

eštri mini dundurma!

bukra maṣāri, elyōm — yā balāš,

eštri mini dundurma!

'Ice-cream! ice-cream! / buy from me ice-cream! / tomorrow [it will cost you] money, today it's gratis / buy from me ice-cream!'

317. *sus* = سوس *sūs* [Heb. שוש] = a cold beverage of liquorice, sold on the streets on hot summer days.

190. Isaac E. Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, I, 73, No. 319.

To advertise their drink, which is usually kept in a *ki'rbe* (qirbe — See No. 282), the hawkers, chiefly Arabs, attract attention by rhythmically beating together small brass trays. From this originates the saying:

\* men klapť šeyn sus! 'They are already beating sus!'

See also *su'snik*, No. 385.

318. *sa'khleb* = saḥlab = a hot beverage, served before breakfast, especially on cold winter days, composed of starch, milk, sugar, to which coconut, cinnamon or ginger is added (*BW*, 426).

319. *a'arak* = عرق 'araq = brandy.

Originally 'araq was palm-brandy, produced from the "sweat" (= عرق ) of the date-palm, called 'araq at-tamr (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 14f.; Lokotsch, 92), while in India 'araq is rice-brandy (Littmann, *Wörter*, 29). Later the word was used by Arabs generally to designate intoxicating beverages.

320. *me'ze* = Persian mäsä (Lokotsch, 1453) = a snack served together with a drink, consisting of pieces of bread with sausage, olives and the like.

\* vi'i'dos, me'git'os [vi iz dos, men git dos] gornit cu cum *a'arak* keyn *me'ze*?, 'How is it, no snack is served with the arak?'

321. *bakala've* = Turkish باقلاوة baqlāwe = an almond cake prepared together with nuts, raisins, honey, some sugar and fat (*BW*, 426; Lokotsch, 191).

*Bauer*, 256: baqläue ein Gebäck aus Blätterteig, viel Schmalz, Zucker und Mandeln, zuletzt mit Syrup übergossen.

322. *kustay'nes* = كستنا kastanē = roasted chestnuts (Castanea), eaten after being fried on red-hot coals.

Many Arabic names for vegetables and fruit have been adapted into Palestine Yiddish. This is understandable. Because of climatic conditions, Ashkenazim arriving in Palestine found varieties of vegetables and fruit which they had never seen before, and it was natural to adopt them along with their native names.

We are informed of this in letters and accounts written by Ashkenazim for the benefit of their brethren abroad, which emphasize at the same time the futility of describing these green plants for the simple reason that they would not be able to visualize them. Thus R. Shlomo Shlomo Meinstler, one of the early arrivals from Moravia, writes in a letter from Safed, dated 24 Tamuz 1607, that "many good varieties of fruit and vegetables are to be found here all year round... in addition to numerous other varieties which are not known to you and there is no use in mentioning them to you."<sup>191</sup>

We hear likewise from R. Gedalye Semyaticher that in Palestine grow "many fruits which cannot be mentioned by name for they do not grow in these countries [Poland, Lithuania] at all,"<sup>192</sup> and while describing vegetables he adds that "many varieties of vegetables growing in Palestine are not to be found in these countries, Palestinian cabbage, for instance, because it is a different plant, and the same applies to our cabbage which is not to be found there, and to similar vegetables not growing in these countries."<sup>193</sup>

R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer makes only a brief remark when he writes: "In summer time different vegetables grow there... and many which are not to be found in our countries,"<sup>194</sup> while, on the other hand, he lists some of them, in the vocabulary at the end of his account, by their Arabic names.

Of *vegetables* known by their Arabic names, there are the following:

323. *bandu'res*, pl. of *bandu're* = باندورة *bandōra* = tomato (*Solanum Lycopersicum*). *toma'tes*, *toma'tn* (French tomato) are also used.

The derivation of *bandōra* is interesting. The tomato was first introduced from Abyssinia to Italy where it was called *Pommi dei Mori* = "Negro apples", and from it the popular etymology *Pommi d'Amore* = "Love apples" developed. This later became *Pomo d'oro* = "gold apple", and subsequently *Pomodor(e)* (or *Pomidor*, *Pomedor*, *Pomador* — in the Slavic languages).

From Italy the *Pomodor(e)* was transplanted to the Near East, where a further linguistic change occurred. As there is no original p-sound in Arabic, the other bi-labial b-sound has

191. *Epistles from Palestine* (Hebrew), edited by Abraham Yaari (Tel Aviv, 1943), 200.

192. *Reshumoth*, II, 472.

193. *Reshumoth*, II, 488.

194. *Sepher Koroth Ha'ittim*, 20a.



taken its place, and by partial assimilation of the following liquid *m* to *n*, *pomodor(e)* became *bandōra*.

Still a further interesting development is added here. When a name for tomato, a fruit which is not Biblical and not Palestinian, had to be chosen in modern Hebrew, the choice fell upon the Italian Pommi d'Amore, and thus עגבניה (from Biblical עגב, to make love) was adopted.

The word is not listed in Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, but it is to be found in המלון העברי (new edition, Tel Aviv, 1927, 405) by Yehuda Grozovsky and David Yellin and in the מלון השפה העברית (Tel Aviv, 1935, 724), by Yehuda Grozovsky. In both it is listed in the form עגבנית explaining it by "פרי ירקות כתפוח", and adding in a footnote: tomato, tomato, Pomador, Goldapfel.

In some places abroad, tomato is known in Yiddish as טריפהנע עפל "treylene epl", forbidden apples.

324. *zeytu'nes*, pl. of *zeytu'ne* = زيتون *zētūn* = olive (*Olea Europea* L.). The popular variety in Palestine is the rather small *green olive* (which is also known under the Slavic name *masli'nes*), while the superior black olive is imported from Greece.

To produce olive oil (še'men za'yis [Heb. שמן זית]) the olives are pressed by Arabs in a primitive manner in a *ma'sbene* (see No. 311), the camel substituting for mechanical power. By modern methods olive oil is produced at the Shemen factory in Haifa and in other factories.

The Palestinograph Joseph Schwarz gives the following description:

"The Olives זית, Al Sītun [zētūn], although plentiful, are small and poor; so also is the olive oil of Palestine very inferior to that of Italy and Provence in France. In the vicinity of Chaspeya [Ḥaṣḥbiye], on Mount Lebanon, however, olives grow as large as a small egg." 195

325. *kha'se* = خس *ḥass* = lettuce (*Lactuca* sp.) — See also *sala'te*, No. 307.

326. *khofe'sh* = ḥurfēš il-ḥamīr (Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, I: 1, 52; BW, 26: Artischocke), the first part being a diminutive, with transposition, of خرشوف *ḥaršūf* = artichoke (*Cynara syriaca*) [Cf. Lokotsch, 833].

There is also an Arabic form أرض شوكي *arḍiṣōki* (Dalman, *ibid.*, II, 288), originating in Italian *articiocco* (*Cynara scolymus*), based on a popular etymology of أرض شوكة land

covered with thorns (the impossibility of which is discussed at length by Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 18—22).

327. *ba'mye* = באמיה *bāmiyā* (of Greek origin) = Okra (also called gumbo) (*Hibiscus esculentus*, also *Ochrea bamia*). — Cf. Lokotsch, 210.

328. *fala'fel* = פלפל *filfil* (*aḥḍar*) = the green pepper, which is among the most popular vegetables, and *pi'te* (see No. 293) with *fala'fel* is a favorite combination.

329. *ku'ses*, pl. of *ku'se* = קוסא *kūsā* [Biblical קשוואים, Mishnaic Heb. קישות Targ. Aramaic קטייא] = a small gourd in the shape of a cucumber (*Cucurbita ovifera*) [*BW*, 300: *Speisegurke*]. Diminutive pl., *ku'selakh*, is also heard.

It is used for cooking, and when stuffed with rice, cinnamon and the like, it is also called *ma'khše* = מאחשי (from משר, stuffing of food).

330. *kaneve'te* = קרנב *qarnabīt* (*BW*, 67: *Blumenkohl*) [Talmudic Aramaic קרנבי from Greek *krambe* (Jastrow, 672); modern Heb. קרנובית] = cauliflower (*Brassica oleracea*).

Joseph Schwarz adds the following note (in Isaac Leiser's English translation): "Cabbage קרנב *Al Krumb*, also called *Al Sartab* [*Karnab?*], or *Kunbit* [*qunnabīt*]." <sup>196</sup>

\* *er zeyt šeyn kanevete* — is a euphemism for "he has already died" (liter. 'he is sowing cauliflower').

A native of Old Jerusalem explained to me the origin of this saying as follows:

Some Arabs of Jerusalem used to grow *kanevete* not far from the old Jewish cemetery in the vicinity below Mount Olive; hence also the saying \* *er't gegangen zeyen kanevete*, in the sense of 'he died'.

This euphemism is similar to others in Yiddish, connected with the verb *geyn* ('to depart') and denoting death, as: *gegangen bakn beygl*; *gegangen zikh zen mitn elter-zeydn*; *gegangen in di zamdbeder arayn*; *gegangen zayn veg*; *gegangen zikh oysglaykhn di beyner*; *gegangen zikh zen mit di kreyvim* (literally: he went in order to bake cracknels; he went to see the great-grandfather; he went to the sandbaths; he went on his way [a Biblical allusion: cf. Joshua 23:14]; he went to stretch his bones; he went to meet his relatives).

331. *lu'bye* = لوبيا *lūbye* = beans (*Phaseolus multiflorus*) [*BW*, 68: Buschbohne, arabische Art *lūbje*]. On the eve of the feast of ראש השנה it is cooked with honey "to assure a sweet year." [Cf. Lokotsch, 1333].

332. *tu'rmus* = ترمس *turmus* (Talmudic תורמוס from Greek *dermos*) = lupine (*Lupinus Termis*).

In agriculture, Jewish settlers use the green plant before it blossoms and brings forth pods as a fertilizer to improve the soil of the vineyards.

333. *khu'mus* = حمص *hummuṣ* (Talmudic חומצא, חומצא) = Chick-pea (*Cicer arietinum*) [*BW*, 185: Kichererbse].

334. *kha'mle* = ḥāmle = bundles of peas in pods. When selling it, the Arabs shout: ḥāmle malāne! = pods full of peas.

335. *kada'mes* = قضاامي *qḏāme* = roasted chickpeas (*BW*, 185: dürre geröstete [Kichererbse]).

\* *kada'mes* pražet men in a sakhte'n afn fayer, 'Chick-peas are roasted in a frying-pan over fire.'

*pražet* = Yiddish present tense of Polish infinitive *prażyć* = to fry.

*sakhte'n* = Ladino *sarten* = frying-pan.

"... They have one more stove for frying peas. They crush them between the fingers until the husks are removed, and it is then eaten with raisins, and it is called *kadames*.<sup>197</sup>

See also *brondži'nes*, *kakho'mre*, *kaleva'se*, *pazi'* — Appendix I.

The following *fruits* are, among others, known by their Arabic names (in a Yiddish form):

336. *portuga'ln*, pl. of *portuga'l* = برتوقال · *burdqān*, *burd'ān* = orange (*Citrus aurantium*).

Ar. *burdqān* stands for *burtuqāl*, originating in Italian *portogallo*. It is known everywhere in the Near East, and its name is derived from the word Portugal (in the form *būrḏqānkāt* it is known among the *nawār* [Littmann, *Zigeuner Arabisch*, 51]) although the fruit itself is of Far Eastern origin, and the other name by which it is known, *orange*, is from the Persian *nāranǧ* (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 71; Littmann,

197. *Sepher Korot Ha'ittim*, 20a.

Wörter, 28; Lokotsch, 1555). The latter is easily seen in the second half of *pomarancia* and German *Pomeranze*, while the first half is the Italian *pomo*, 'apple'.

To all these the following should be added:

The orange tree was introduced from Syria-Palestine to Europe by the Crusaders and merchants of Italy and France at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries. This was the *bitter* orange, while the sweet orange (*Citrus Aurantium dulce*) was not yet known in the West as it was in the East. It was first discovered by the Portuguese seamen in 1497 in Hindustan, after their discovery of a passage to India via the Cape of Good Hope. They had heard that the fruit originated in China (Šin) and they brought it home, whence it spread through Europe. In some countries it was indeed known as "China-apple", with the adjective *sin* for China (thus Dutch *Sinaasappel*,<sup>198</sup> German *Apfelsine*, hence Yiddish *aplc'i'n*), but in the countries around the Mediterranean it was known as *portogallo*, a Portuguese fruit.<sup>199</sup>

In the eighteenth century the orange was introduced from Portugal to Palestine, where its Arabic names *burtuqāl* > *burdqān* > *burd'ān* were adopted; and it was preserved in Palestine Yiddish in its original phonetical form — *portuga'l*.

In Palestine, "*ya'fer marancn*", Jaffa oranges, which are large, round, and full of juice, are especially popular; the *šamu'ti* = *šammūt*, rather oval in shape, with seeds; and the *khuškha's* = *hušhāš*, grafted on lemon, are also known.

The following excerpts, arranged chronologically, testify to the use of the various names of the orange (and its price) among Ashkenazim in Palestine:

1. 1607. From a letter by R. Shlomo Shlomo Meisnerl:

[There are many varieties of fruits] in addition to such fine fruits as carob-pod, *pomerancn* [oranges], lemon, water-melons and yellow melons which taste like sugar.<sup>200</sup>

(...מלבד הפירות הטובות הרובין פומרנצין לימנא ואבטיחים וקרפוזים שטעמן היא כטעם הצוקר).

198. But see also Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 71, where the Dutch *oranje*, *oranjeappel*, *oranjeboom* are mentioned.

199. S. Tolkovsky, *The History of Jaffa* (Hebrew), (Tel Aviv, 1926), 146—147.

200. *Epistles from Palestine* (See n. 191), 200.

2. 1650 — From the itinerary of R. Moshe Porges:

[The price of] six *marancn* is one Kreuz Taler, and sometimes one may get eight for one Kreuz-Taler.<sup>201</sup>

(...זעקס מאראנצין זיינען אום איין צלמער [= Kreuztaler] צו צייטן גיט מען אכט אום איין צלמער).

3. 1700—1706. From the account of R. Gedalye Semyatičer:

Many fruit trees are to be found in Palestine, for example... lemons, *marancn*.<sup>202</sup>

(יש בא"י הרבה פירות האילן כגון... למונס מרנצון).

4. 1769—1770. From a description of Safed in the itinerary of R. Moshe Yerushalmi:

Safed — may it be rebuilt and reestablished speedily in our own days — is an open place... On the mountains no grass could be seen but only lemons and *aplazinos* [aplcines = oranges]; and citron trees, so that one is able to bite off the fruits with his mouth.<sup>203</sup>

(צפת תובב"א איזט אפין מקום... אויף דען בערג איזט קיין שטיקל גראז צו זעהן זונדרן לויטר לימונש אונט אפל אזינוס אונט אחרונים ביום דש מן דיא פירות ממש מיט דען מויל אפביישן קענטי).

5. 1819. The price of oranges is given in a Yiddish letter from Safed:

*Marancn*, the finest, largest, and best, [cost]: 2 paras a piece, or 2 pieces for 3 paras.<sup>204</sup>

(מארנצין פיינע די גרעשטיע [גרעסטע] און דיא בעסטע [בעסטע] 2 פאריש שטיק אדיר 2 שטיק בעד 3 פאריש).

6. 1834. Fifteen years later we hear of a higher price:

Lemons and *aplcinen* are sold per piece. The best one costs five paras [a piece], which means one *grošn* and a half.<sup>205</sup>

(צטרינגן ו אפל צינגן נמכרים ע"י מספר. היותר טוב נמכר בעד חמשה פארעס דהיינו א[חד] גדול וחצי).

7. 1884. One of the first settlers of Petah Tilkva relates:

Our whole food consisted of dry bread with onions, or a "*portugal*", or some garlic.<sup>206</sup>

(מאכלנו היה לחם עם בצל או "פורטגאל", או מעט שום)

337. *mandari'nes*, or *yusu'f efe'ndis* = *yūsif afandi* = tangerine [citrus fruit from Tangiers, Africa] (The Latin names are *Citrus madarensis* Louveino and *Citrus nobilis*. — Cf. Löw, *Flora*, III, 284; BW, 213: Mandarinine).

As can be inferred from Littmann, *Wörter*, 38, the name *Yūsif*

201. *Darke Zion*, 4a.

202. *Reshumoth*, II, 472.

203. *Sepher Yede Moshe*, 17.

204. Ph. Friedman (n. 61, above), 270.

205. *Sepher Korot Ha'ittim* (second Hebrew ed.), 12a.

206. From the reminiscences of Aryeh-Leyb Frumkin, *ספר מאה שנה* (Tel Aviv, 1938), 402.

afandi is similar to that of the Turkish "beg armudy", the Bey's pear (Engl. bergamot):

Noch heute gibt es in der Türkei eine Birne, die *Mustafa bey armudy* heisst; bei dem Strassenausrufen preisen die Verkäufer in der Türkei, besonders in Aegypten, ihre Früchte als für den Bey oder den Pascha geeignet an." Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 25, already pointed out that "Men heeft die peer zoo genoemd wegens haren voortreffelijken smaak."

338. *klemanti'ne* = an orange grafted on tangerine.

339. *limo'n* (pl. *li'menes*) = ليمون *lēmūn* (a Persian loanword) = lemon (*Citrus medica*). — Cf. Lokotsch, 1322.

This word was already known in Yiddish outside Palestine, where *citri'n* = citron is also used, but its oriental origin is indubitable.

340. *askedi'nye* (pl. -s) = *eskidinya* (Turkish *eski dünya*, 'Old world') = *mespilus* (*Mespilus japonica*, *Eryobotria japonica*). A fruit with many large kernels, ripening at the end of April. (BW, 220: Mispel).

341. *mi'smiš* = مشمش *mišmiš* = apricot (*Prunus armeniaca*). For varieties of it, see BW, 25: Aprikose. — See also *bu'kra fil mi'smiš*, No. 15.

342. *tut* = توت *tūt* [Mishnaic Heb. תות] = mulberry (*Morus* sp.), of which two varieties are popular: white — *tūt beladī*, and black — *tūt šāmī* (BW, 215: Maulbeere).

343. *sa'bre* (pl. -s) = صبره *ṣabre* = prickly pear, fruit of the Cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-Indica* Haw.; BW, 180: Kaktus-feige, gives the botanical name *Opuntia grandifolia*). The name for it in classical Arabic is تين شوكي *tīn šaukī*, thorny fig.

The *ṣabre* is a soft fruit; inside it is mucilaginous and full of small seeds. On the outside it is covered with thorns which are removed by the hawker, generally an Arab, on the spot, and sold cheaply. — Cf. No. 80.

344. *zaru'res*, pl. of *zaru're* = زعرور *za'rūr* (pl. زعارير) = medlar, also Hawthorn (*Crataegus Azarolus*, or — *orientalis*). Its fruit, small green apples, is eaten on חמשה-עשר-בשבט which is New Year's Day for trees.

345. *batī'akh* (pl. *batī'khes*) = بطيخ *baṭṭīḥ* (Hebr. אבטיח) = watermelon (*Cucumis citrullus*), also called *b. aḥḏar*, the

green melon. [In my home-town, Vilno, it is known as *ka'vene* < Polish *kawon* < Turkish *qāwūn* (Lokotsch, 1137)].

The yellow melon, *b. aşfar*, is called *karpuz* = Turkish *qarpuz*, originating in Persian *ḥarbuz* (Cf. Lokotsch, 824).

346. *ka're* = قمرية *qar'a* = pumpkin (*Cucurbita lagenaria*), eaten on the first day of ראש-השנה for the benediction of שהחינו on tasting any fruit for the first time in the season, and cooked with honey (for the same reason as in No. 331, above) [*BW*, 121: Flaschenkürbis].

347. *fistu'kes* = fustuq [*BW*, 247: Pistazie; Lokotsch, 620 (where Persian *fistik* is given as the origin), and 1664] = pistachio (*Pistacia vera*).

*fustuq* is a collective, but in penetrating into Yiddish (perhaps via Ladino?) it assumed the plural form *fistu'kes*, similar to the Ar. collective *zētun* which is the Yiddish plural *zeytu'nes*.

See also *bombri'yes*, *papi'tes*, *sufay'fes* — Appendix I.

## CHAPTER IX

## OCCUPATIONS, TRADES

The Arabic terms relating to crafts and workmanship penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish as a result of a slow process of productivization among members of the Old Ashkenazic community, which this writer has extensively described elsewhere.<sup>207</sup> I have amply demonstrated, with excerpts of various sources, that among the Jews arriving from Russia and Poland were artisans who had acquired their skills in their countries of origin, and that the trades of building and stone-cutting were learned by them from Arab artisans.

The promotion of handicrafts among Ashkenazim was greatly encouraged by *James Finn*, British Consul in Jerusalem during the years 1845—1863, and by Mrs. Finn (Elizabeth Anne Finn). In her reminiscences Mrs. Finn relates among other things:

We wished to teach the Jewish workmen how to build. The Bethlehmites were by this time very good builders, so we sent for one of them and told him that if he would promise to treat the Jews well and not knock them about we would employ him to teach them how to build. He promised and kept his word, and thus a little house on the Vineyard ["Abraham's Vineyard" now the quarter **כרם אברהם** a lot which the Finns acquired outside the Old City of Jerusalem] was built, the first cottage outside the walls of Jerusalem (excepting our own at the Talibiyeh) and the first to be built by Jewish hands.<sup>208</sup>

207. Jewish Artisans in Palestine (Yiddish), *Yivo-Bleter*, XIII (1938), 7—28; Experiments in Promoting Handicraft among the Old Yishuv in Jerusalem, *ibid.*, XIV (1939), 90—103; The Old Yishuv in Palestine, *ibid.*, 405—424; The Khevre Poale Tzedek in Jerusalem, XVIII (1941), 192—202; also in English, u.t. Jewish Artisans in Palestine and Their Association Poale Zedek, *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science*, II—III (1947/1948), 146—159; Jewish Workingmen in Palestine, XXI (1943), 276—301.

208. *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn*, London, [1929], 134.



As anticipated by the Finns, these Jews of Jerusalem acquired the building trade and became skilled workers — to which Mrs. Finn testifies as follows:

I had also been able to employ some more Jews on building and other works in Urtas [the village of Artas, in the vicinity of Bethlehem]. By degrees a very skilful body of Jewish builders was trained and now they are amongst the best builders in Jerusalem [— M.K.]. I also had some of these trained in the far more difficult work of blasting and quarrying the rock, which only a few of the natives understood, and our Jewish blasters are in great request, building in all its stages having become about the most profitable employment in Jerusalem. Thus we were able to contribute to the rebuilding of the Holy City, which is still going on. <sup>209</sup>

A consequence of all this was the penetration of Arabic terms for various processes and phases connected with building and quarrying into the Palestine Yiddish (which are dealt with below). <sup>210</sup>

348. Stone is the most important building material in Palestine. It is blasted with dynamite, and while this is being done, the warning *baru'd!* = بارود *bārūd* = gun-powder, is heard.

BW, 372: [vorgesehen] beim Sprengen ḥaḍūr bārūd (Pulver!).

\* *me šrayt baru'd!* 'The [warning] bārūd is shouted', meaning, watch out! be careful! take cover!

\* *baru'd, kha'der, šis!* 'gun-powder, ready, shoot!' — said when poking fun at someone making himself ready to perform a function about which he was boasting.

*kha'der* = حاضر *ḥaḍir* = ready.

In describing rock-blasting by Arab quarriers, T. Canaan relates among other things: "A few workers then station themselves at a safe distance from the point of explosion in different directions, shouting ḥaḍūr bārūd, "Take care! powder (is being exploded)!" so warning other workers or passers-by [to take cover]. <sup>211</sup>

349. While digging foundations one might strike a *sa'kher* = صخر *ṣaḥr* = rock.

209. *Ibid.*, 175.

210. A similar process of acquiring Arabic building terms was repeated in later years with the pioneers' immigration of the 1920s in Palestine. For that purpose the Jewish workers organization published a comprehensive terminology in Hebrew, Yiddish and Arabic (see Appendix V, No. 7).

211. The Palestinian Arab House, *JPOS* XII, (1932), 236.

\* ir't ongetrofn af a *sa'kher*? "Did you hit a rock?"

350. A course or layer of stones is a *madma'k* = מדמאק  
midmāk [Mishnaic Heb. מִדְמָךְ] (*BW*, 307: Steinlage von Haus).

Fraenkel, 12, is of opinion that "Im Arabischen hat es keine rechte Ableitung", and that *midmak* originated in an Aramaic secondary form \* מִדְמָךְ stressing the fact that the change of *b* to *m* is not without precedent in loan-words in Arabic.

351. Of the varieties of stone for building purposes the most popular is the hard gray-white or rather red *mi'zi yahu'd* = mizzi yahūdi, the Jewish mizzi, which does not absorb moisture.

*BW*, 181: [Kalkstein] mizzi jahūdi grauweiss, a[uch] rötlich, hart.

To my question about its meaning, an Arab quarrier explained that it is so called in allusion to the "durable character" of the Jews who are known to be "a stiffnecked people."<sup>212</sup>

The *mizzi* "comes from the deeper strata and is so compact and hard that it is only slightly affected by weather. Of four varieties [azraq blue, *ab'yaḏ* white, *aḥmar* red, and *aṣfar* yellow] the blue is most durable and has the lowest coefficient for the absorption of moisture."<sup>213</sup>

352. *kurka'r* = kurkār, or ḥaḡar ramli (*BW*, 181: Küstensandstein) = psammite, not calcareous, found chiefly along the sea coast, used for building purposes, especially to fill in gaps in the walls.

353. A stone dressed on all its sides is *tu'bze* = ṭubzi (in classical Arabic طَبْر = rock); a coarse-dressed stone, with smooth frames on all sides around protuberances, is *talti'sh* = talṭiṣ (*BW*, 307: [Stein] grob behauen), called also *hu'rdes-šteyn* הורדוס־שטיין, referring to the large coarse stones of the lower courses of the Wailing Wall and "David's Tower", the architectural remnants of Herod the Great in Jerusalem]; the stones for the door-post or window-sill are called *barati'sh*, pl. of *burta'sh* = ברטאש burṭāš (pl. בראטיש barāṭiṣ).

\* zol er brengen *barati'sh*, 'Let him bring b'.'

212. The same explanation is noted by Ephraim Rubinovitz [Haruveni], in ספר השנה של ארץ־ישראל, I (Tel Aviv, 1923), 313 (n. 1).

213. T. Canaan, *JPOS*, XII (1932), 232.

354. When the foundation-stones are joined with cement, *de'beš* = دبش *debš* (BW, 72: Bruchstein) = rubble stones and mortar, are laid in.

355. *zi'fzif* = zifzif = sieved sand, of rather coarse grain, used for cement mixture.

Of the materials prepared for building purposes, there are known:

356. *mužbeli'ye* = maḡbūliye (from جبل to mix [lime with water, for instance]; BW, 220: [mischen] Kalk mit sand zu Mörtel) = a mixture of earth, lime, cement and water [T. Canaan, The Palestinian Arab House, JPOS, XIII (1933), 3 explains: "The *madjbūliyah* is a circular heap of earth and slaked lime layers"]].

357. *pale'te* = plaster, plastering, rough-cast; the plasterer is called *pale'tšik* (pronounced *pale'čik* — *čik* being a Slavic suffix), or *pale'ter*. It originates in Arabic باط *ballaṭ* = paving, chiefly connected with that of stone. — See also *balates*, No. 360.

An item in the Report of Meah She'arim (Jerusalem, 1922) reads: "To R. David Salomon for plastering the walls with *palete* and iron strips, and for paving *balates*."

(לר' דוד שלמה בעד בנין הכתלים עם פאלעטע וברזלים, וריצוף באלאטעס).

358. *kesa(r)mi'l* = quşmal [from قسارة *qṣāra* = rubbish (left in the sieve)] = falling parts of dried plaster (when repairing a wall from the inside, for instance).

*kesa(r)mi'l* is also plaster, as seen from the following excerpts:

R. Gedalye Semyatičer, describing the houses in Jerusalem, tells us about this plastering, not mentioning it by name: "The houses in Jerusalem have no roofs as in these countries [Poland, Lithuania]... but they take ashes mixed with lime making it as thick as clay, and plaster the ceiling from above so that the rain water will not spoil the ceiling, and this is called in the Talmud מעזיבה [pavement covering the ceiling].<sup>214</sup>

R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer writes to the same effect:

"The houses of Jerusalem are beautiful, without roofs, but with ceilings of hard pressed clay plastered from above with *kaser mil* קאסערמיל. It is glazed, to prevent the rain from dripping into the

houses. But in other cities [the ceilings] are not plastered with the *kasr mil*, only smoothed from above to harden the clay like stone.<sup>215</sup>

In a letter from Jerusalem to the *Jewish Chronicle*, March 29, 1878, we read:

"... For, as known throughout the East, there are no slanting roofs, but all of them are flat, paved with smooth stones, alternating with layers of clay, mixed with the dust of limestone and potsherds, called קיסרעמיל.

359. A floor of cement is a *me'dde* (from مدد ماد to spread), originally — the smoothed roof of an Arab house (while a floor is *ardyye*).

360. A floor is usually paved with *bala'tes*, pl. of *bala'te* = בלאת balāt (also בלאת ballāte) = paving stone (tiles).

Although Lokotsch, 200, lists *balāt* as an Arabic word pure and simple, it would be safe to accept the etymology offered by Fraenkel, 281, namely that of the Greek plateia and *ballat* being a denominative of *balāt* (See also *ibid.*, 28).

The Arabic-Yiddish form *bala'tes*, and not *plā'tes*, is preserved throughout. Thus, people say: \* di *balates* ba undz zaynen reyte, ... vayse, 'our b. are red, ... white'.

Of the implements used at various stages of masonry, the following are known:

361. *dabu're* = dabbūra = mason's hammer, heavy, with one end sharp and the other flat.

362. *nu'khol* = nuhl (BW, 70: Brecheisen) = crowbar for drilling holes in the rock in which to place dynamite in preparation for blasting.

A hole for blasting (*nuqr*, more seldom *muqr*) is drilled by means of *nuhl naqr* (T. Canaan, *JPOS*, XII [1932], 235).

BW, 162: Hebeeisen der Steinbrecher *nuhl naqr*.

363. *me'džrefe* = مجرفة mağrafe [Heb. מגרפה] = the plasterer's larry, on a rather long stick, to mix the lime while dissolving it in water.

364. *mistri'e* = maštarin (BW, 184: Kelle) = trowel, to smooth rough-cast, cement, etc.

215. *Sepher Korot Ha'ittim*, 16b

365. *turi'ye* = طورية *tūriye* = spade, for mixing cement (is also used for various types of farm work).

Littmann, *Zigeuner Arabisch*, 81—82, explains it as a Coptic loanword *tūriye* (pl. *ṭawāri*) adding that in Gypsy Arabic it is the Persian loanword *tābār* (*tāvār*) "Beil Axt" [Cf. Lokotsch, 1964: *tābār*].

366. *zawi'e* = زاوية *zāwiye* = rectangular goniometer for measuring the corners of the building.

BW, 389: rechter [Winkelmass] *zāwiye qāime*.

367. *ko'fe* (pl. -s) = قفة *quffe* (pl. قف) = basket, of plaited straw, for carrying sand or earth (BW, 193: Korb, enumerating the ten varieties of Arab baskets, explains the *quffe* "aus Binsen oder Papyrus, mit 2 Griffen, konisch, für Erdtransport").

The *ko'fe* (diminutive *ko'fale*) is used by farmers for gathering fruit, like grapes, almonds, etc., while they are in season. It comes in various sizes and it may contain, for instance, as much as three *rotl* of grapes. Grapefruit is also gathered in it and emptied in larger baskets of hard twigs.

Littmann, *op. cit.*, 95, refers to it as "aus dem Aramäischen entlehnt", but Fraenkel, 80, already rejected this assumption: "Dies ist kein echtes Wort da es keine Ableitung im Semitischen hat, aber kaum übernommen aus "cupa"[קפא] da uns dies zunächst nur in der Bedeutung Weinbehälter überliefert" [But see Jastrow, 659 קפ"ה and 1338, קפ"ה where the explanation of basket is clearly proven].

Lokotsch, 1225, lists *kuffa* as originating from Greek *kophinos*, Latin *cuppa*.

\* me darf nokh onbrenge a por *ko'fes* erd, "They have to carry a few more baskets of earth."

368. *khašabi'ye* = ḥašabiye = a wooden trailer, tied to a roller, usually housing the watchman or the machinist while the work is proceeding.

\* gib nor a kuk vos far a numer iz af der *khašabi'ye*, "Take a look at the number on the kh'."

Arabic names for skilled laborers and the like, connected with masonry, are:

369. *khaḍža'rmik* = حجر ḥağer = stone + Slavic suffix -nik = quarryman (in Arabic حجار ḥağğār). The *quarry*,

where stones are blasted, cut and dressed, is *ma'khdžere* = *maḥğara*.

370. *mua'lim* = معلم *m'allim* = master-mason who supervises all the masonry work of a building.

BW, 217: *Meister mu'állim*: -in; a[uch] *ušta* (türkisch).

\* *er iz a gancer mua'lim!* 'He is some master!' (said also of one who puts on airs. Cf. *khavadža*, No. 87).

On the *m'allim* we read with T. Canaan:

The *bannā* (mason), whom Arab peasants employ as architect, is also called *m'allim*. He makes the plan and builds the house (JPOS, XIII [1933], 1).

The master-mason, the *m'allim*, who supervises the whole work, builds at the same time the important parts of the building, namely the outer courses, the windows, doors and vault (*ibid.*, 4).

371. *meha'ndes* = مهندس [Medieval Heb. מהנדס] *m<sup>u</sup>handis* = the architect who draws the plan for the building.

\* *bizt dokh epes a štik mehu'ndes!* 'Well, you are some architect!' (said ironically of one whose work is not of the best quality).

372. *mka'uel* = מאוול *mqāwil* = contractor [also known under the Heb. קבלן].

"Most city dwellers and some fellāḥin give the work [of building their houses] out on contract (*mqāwaleh*). The person who takes the work is known as *mqāwil*" (T. Canaan, JPOS, XIII, 1933, 1).

*pale'tšik, pale'ter* — See No. 357.

373. *voka'f* = وافی *waqqāf* = the overseer, employed by the *mqāwil*, while a house is being built. The building site is known as *vo'rše* = *warše* (liter. workshop).

\* *er iz a voka'f af der vo'rše*, 'He is an overseer at a building'.

\* *mayn tate hot gearbet af der vo'rše*, *un az er iz geštorbn*, *hot er mir ibergelozt a štub mit a kuzi'ne*, 'My father used to work at a building, and when he passed away, I inherited [liter. he left behind for me] a house with a kitchen.'

*kuzi'ne* — see Appendix I.

Other *occupations* known by their Arabic names, are:

374. *sara'f* = **مَراف** *ṣarrāf* = money-changer [etymologically connected with the Heb. **צורף** refiner, silversmith, from the root **צרף** Accadian *ṣurruṣu*, to smelt (Gesenius-Buhl<sup>15</sup>, 690). See also Lokotsch, 1860].

Prior to World War One, the *sara'fes* (pl. of *sara'f*) were well known in Jerusalem where they used to have their stations in front of the Jaffa Gate. There they sat at their small tables, arranged in one row, ready for their transactions, with the exchange rates differing from one another. They kept their coins and bills of various countries in drawers or bags, and with sunset they deposit them, along with their tables, for the night, in the banks, mainly — in the German Bank.

The *sarafes* were healthy, jolly men, and generally considered to be **גִּידִים** [Heb. 'rich people'] concerning whom the saying was \* *di sarafes zaynen gevirim*, 'the money-changers are rich people'.

The following are some excerpts about the Jewish *ṣarrāf*:

1. From *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, by R. Moshe Bassola of Ancona, 1542:

A decree of old times, enforced by threat of excommunication, was to the effect that no Jew should sell wine to the Turks. But after a while the decree was rescinded in the interests of the *sarfi* [*sarafi* **מפני הצרך לשרפי**] who are influential with the government. And this year the *sarfi* prepared large quantities of wine for sale to the Turks, but [the leaders of the Jewish community] have anew obtained a decree by the Governor prohibiting the Turks from buying wine, because they would break into Jewish houses and seize whatever they found. Now the *sarfi* came to the [Jewish religious] judge asking what they ought to do with the wine which they [had previously] produced upon the advice of the community for sale to the Turks. Thereupon the community was burdened with about two hundred gallons, of which every one bought accordingly and then the judge has decreed by fasting and threat of excommunication that no one may sell wine but the *sarfi*, namely R. Eliezer Albuṭani and R. Judah from Corbell.<sup>216</sup>

2. From a letter by R. Yisroel Šklover, the leader of the Ashkenazic community in Safed, 1819:

The [Jewish] leader of these two towns [Tiberias and Safed] at that time was the Rabbi R. Isaac Abul'afya, on the authority of the

216. I. Ben-Zvi edition (Jerusalem, 1938), 86—87.

noble and pious man, the martyr R. Ḥayim Parḥi — may he be remembered for life everlasting! — who was then the *saraf* of the baša in Acre [“שהיה אז בעכו שאר אף של הבאשא”] and an important official.<sup>217</sup>

3. A description of a Jewish *sarrāf* in Jaffa, 1870:

In a small chamber or vaulted room the Jewish money-changer sits with his small money boxes of various coins — Austrian, Russian, French, English, Turkish together with money and silver coins of other countries — all placed behind the glass pane of the small box. He changes everything and accepts small and large money orders all over the world as well.<sup>218</sup>

4. The Sephardic Jews have made a play of words out of *sarrāf* and the above-mentioned *pare*, No. 78:

Whence may the inference be drawn that the *sarrāf* has to see the money with his own eyes? Well, there is a distinct verse from the Scriptures to that effect (Numbers 19;5): ושרף את־הפרה לעיניו “And the *saraf* — the *para* before his eyes” (for the liter. “And the heifer shall be burnt in his sight”).<sup>219</sup>

375. *make'r* = *mukāri* (from كاري to hire) = a donkey hirer, or a donkey driver (*BW*, 112: Esel vermietet; see also Lokotsch, 1507). Before the first world war it was a special Jewish occupation on the routes Jerusalem-Jaffa and Jerusalem-Jaffa-Haifa-Tiberias-Safed.

At first, *maka'res* (pl. of *maka're*, another form in Palestinian Yiddish) were Sephardic Jews, but in the 19th century onward Ashkenazim as well engaged in this occupation. They knew Arabic well, were handy with a rifle and quick at horse-riding. From among them came the first watchmen in the Jewish colonies, and their alertness was well known among Arabs.

In a manuscript פנקס של ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב dated 1612, from the Elkan Nathan Adler Mss. collection No. 74, in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, I found a notation (Folio 137a) on the following expenses:

עו'ד] רביעי'ת] גרוש שלחתי ליתן למוקירי שיתיר  
הבאלה של החכם השלם מוהר"ר חייא רופא גר"י ולקשרו ולא רצה החכם השלם  
גר"י להתירו.

1. [line 10]: (I also sent a quarter of a *gruś* for the *mugeri* to untie the bag [belonging to] the learned man R. Ḥiyya Rophe — may

217. *Zion*, II (1927), 131 (See n. 96, p. 197).

218. Simon Berman, מסעות שמעון Reisebeschreibung im heiligen Lande (Yiddish-German), (Krakau, 1879), 74.

219. Barukh Uziel, The Folklore of the Sephardic Jews (Hebrew), *Reshumoth*, VI (1930), 360.



his light shine — and [then] to tie it up again, but the learned man — may etc. — refused to untie it).

[line 20]: עו'ד] ג' טאליר למוקירי שהביא את ההלבשה מצידון לצפת  
תוב"ב עם המכס שבצידון.

(Additional three Taler [I paid] to the muqeri for bringing the clothes from Sidon to Safed — may it be rebuilt and re-established speedily in our own days! — and [for paying] the toll in Sidon).

2. And I left Damascus on the same day, and I celebrated the Sabbath at the Jordan passage [מערנות הירדן, *ḡisr banāt ya'aqub*] for the *muqeri* [המוקירי] wanted to stay there on Friday.<sup>220</sup>

3. The *muqeri* [המוקירי] namely the donkey drivers, were obliged to pay the *kafr* [tax taken from a *kāfir*, non-believer = non-Muslim; in the text it appears erroneously as קאפ"אטרי] but when overcharged they make demands on the Jewish [passengers] to pay it. And when the Jews, after arriving in town, plead before the judge asking him to use his influence with the *muqeri*, no one listens to them. For there is no justice in this country, and especially for Jews against the Mohammedans.<sup>221</sup>

4. The *muqeri* (donkey-driver) rose suddenly from his seat, and ordered my father, in a loud voice, to march forward. And how surprised was I to see my father obey the *muqeri's* demand, while tears shone in his eyes.<sup>222</sup>

*mkari'ye* — See No. 443.

376. *sa'kheb el-re'nem* صاحب الغنم *sāḥib el-ghānam*  
= owner of domesticated animals (liter. sheep), chiefly goats, making a living by selling the milk. This is chiefly carried on among Sephardic and Yemenite Jews (Cf. *te'ymener sma're*, No. 238).

377. *ata'l* = عتال 'attāl = porter, especially for heavy loads (*BW*, 202: Lastträger). It is also pronounced *nata'l* as a result of dissimilation of the preceding Yiddish indefinite article, *an*: an natal > a natal, and one may therefore hear:  
\* men darf araynrufn dem *nata'l*, 'We have to call a porter'.

378. *džara'kh* = جراح *ḡarrāḥ* = a barber-surgeon (*BW*, 394: Wundarzt), also known in Yiddish as *feldšer* [from the German *Feldsherer*, penetrated into Polish in the

220. *A Pilgrimage to Palestine* (see n. 216), 69.

221. Ein anonymes Reisebrief vom Jahre 1495, *Jahrbuch f. die Geschichte d. Juden und des Judentums*, III (1863), 279.

222. Ephraim Cohen-Reiss, *Reminiscences*, 13.

form *Felczer*, and into Russian as *feldsher*], a sort of combination of leech applier, giver of first aid, and barber, who frequently gave medical advice.

Instead of calling on a Jewish *feldšer*, Jews used to turn to an Arab *ğarrāḥ*. He had to perform various functions: to be a dentist, apply leeches, let blood or phlebotomize. Jews were confident that the Arab *ğarrāḥ*, with his firm grip, could do all these things far better than his Jewish counterpart.

A denominative of *ğarrāḥ* is the Yiddish infinitive form *džare'khen* (Ar. جرح or اِجْرَاح) = to wound, to hurt. When praising, for instance, the skill of a barber, one may say:

\* o, der hot a laykhte hant; yener flegt dokh mir *džare'khen*, 'O, he has a steady hand; that other one would always hurt me'.

BW, 394: [Wund]arzt *ğarrāḥ*; 366: [verwund]en *ğarah*; mehrfach ~ *ğarraḥ*.

Some occupations retained their names in Turkish, ending in the suffix *-ġi*. These are, for instance:

379. *araba'ndži* (also *araba'ndže*, pl. -s) = عربين جسي  
'arbaġi = coachman, "cabby", driver of a droshky.

BW, 199: [Kutsche]r 'arbaġi, 'arabanġi: 'arbaġijje.

380. One who sells vegetables is a *khu'dradži* = خضر جي  
*ḥuḍarġi*, or *khu'drenik*, Ar. خضرة *ḥuḍra*, vegetables + Slavic suffix *nik*. With Jews taking over the market, these names slowly disappeared.

BW, 139: [Gemüse]händler *ḥuḍarġi*: -ijje.

381. *ba'khradži* = baḥraġi (liter. بحري from بحر sea) = sailor.

BW, 289: die See als Meer al-baḥr; 215: Matrose baḥri: -ijje.

Stories are still told about the feats of the Jaffa *ba'khradžis* in taking passengers down from ships anchored two or three miles off-shore, especially when a *fartune* (see No. 155) broke out in the Mediterranean. (Arabs say *il baḥr hayeġ* = the sea is stormy, swollen).

382. *bo'yadži* = *bōyaği* (Turkish بویا *bōya* = paint; *BW*, 115: Farbe... Anstrich *boja*) = a shoeblack, "shoe-shiner". The attitude toward this occupation, held in low esteem, is expressed in the saying:

\* af vos teygste? fun dir vet šeyn ken mentš nit aroyskumen; gey ver šeyn beser a *bo'yadži*, 'What good are you? you will be a good-for-nothing; well, better go ahead and be a shoe-shiner.

\* hoste šeyn gemakht *bo'ya*?, 'Have you already shined the shoes?'

383. *te'nekedži* = *tenekği* (Turkish تانك *tanak*, tin plate) = tinsmith.

*BW*, 66: Blech als Metall *tänäk*; [Blech]schmied *tänäkği*, *sankari*: *ijje*.

384. *šišmedzi* = *šišmaği* = privy-cleaner, an occupation chiefly performed by Sephardic Jews (whence a usage of contempt connected with it — see No. 235).

Arabic *šišma* is the Persian loanword *čašma* = a well, a spring (Cf. Lokotsch, 402), but in the colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine it means privy.

An Arab proverb in Syria teaches: *walā dār ḥatta fihā šašme*, there is no house without a privy, meaning: there is no family without a "black sheep".<sup>223</sup>

Some names of occupations are composed of an Arabic element + the Slavic suffix *-nik*, e.g.:

385. *su'snik* = one who sells *sūs* (see No. 317).

Osher-Leyb Brisk, a writer of popular joke-books, a native of Jerusalem (1863—1916), has this saying in his "גלייך ווערטלאך" ("glaykh vertlakh" witticisms, Jerusalem, 1909, 8): "ven der *susnik* farborgt a *kirbe sus*, vert ihm gring oyf dem ruken, un šver oyf dem harcun", 'When the liquorice seller gives the liquorice [contained] in his water-skin on credit, his back is eased, but his heart is heavy.'

*khu'drenik* — see No. 380.

*khadža'rnik* — see No. 369.

223. Isaac E. Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, I, 15, No. 64.

386. *khaša'šnik* = Ar. حشيش ḥašīš = grass, straw +  
*-nik* = basket maker (or rather from حشاش ḥaššāš, seller  
 of dry herbage).

387. *zba'lnik* = Ar. zabbāl + *nik* = street cleaner.

388. *basla'khnik* = Ar. maslaḥ; slaughter-house + *nik*  
 = one whose livelihood is connected with it, especially a  
 watchman (see also *mukdon*, No. 295).

For terms connected with work in the fields and planta-  
 tions — see Chapter XIII: The Farmers' Language.

## CHAPTER X

## COMMERCE, MONEY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Usages and expressions commonly heard among business people, are:

389. *zbun* (pl. -es) = زبون *zbūn* (pl. زبائن *zabain*) [An Aramaic loanword זבן (Fraenkl, 189) to bargain, buy, sell] = customer, client. It is heard in usages such as

\* *kho'dlak zbun* = הוד לק זבון = here is a customer (liter. take the customer for yourself), meaning a pretty specimen of a customer!

\* *er flegt ir cušarn zbu'nes*, 'He would procure customers for her' (which has an ambiguous meaning).

The word *zbun* is also used in the meaning of 'one who is anxious for something', as in the phrase \* *er? er iz a zbun af alc*, 'He? he is an eager customer for everything.'

A meaningful nickname, in addition to the one mentioned above, is *zbun da'kar*. It is employed in such a Yiddish phrase as \* *dos iz er! dos iz yene meci'e, a kho'khem balaylo!* [Heb. הֵכֶם בַּלִּילָה, מְצִיָּאָה, 'Here he is! Not much of a bargain, a sage at night (namely, a man of doubtful wisdom).

*BW*, 198: Geschäfts[kund] *zbūn*: *zabājin*; *Kundin zbūn*le; [Kund]-schaft *zabājīn*, *umalā*.

\* *dos iz dokh a zbun da'kar* (= *zbūn daqar*; دقّر to wound the feelings of somebody), 'He is a troublesome client.'

390. *samsari'e* = *samsara* = fee of a broker (*BW*, 212: *Maklergebühr uğrit es-sumsār, samsara*).

According to Fraenkel, 186 (followed by Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, 13) it originates in the Persian *simsār* = agent, broker, which penetrated into the Semitic languages, the Arabic form being *samsār*. The later Hebrew סַסְרָא originated in the Persian *safsīr* = *sabsār* with the

same meaning. (If this assumption is correct, then Jastrow's etymology, "reduplication of ספר p. 1015, should be discarded).

391. *ardi'ye* = أرضية *ardīye* = storage, fee for keeping goods in store.

*BW*, 200: [Lager]geld *ardijje*.

\* *kh'veys nokh nit: efšer* [Heb. אפשר perhaps, possibly] 'et'n [vet men] *nokh darfn bacoln ardi'ye eykh*, 'I don't know yet: we will perhaps have to pay storage.'

392. *maza't* = مزاد *mazād* = auction, public sale (from *zād* to increase, to exceed [a price]).

\* *r'ot'os* [er hot dos] *gekeyft afn maza't*, 'He bought it at an auction'.

\* *m'ot'os* [men hot dos] *oysgeštelt afn maza't*, 'It was exposed for public sale.'

*BW*, 363: [ver]steigern *bā' bil-mazād*; V[ersteiger]ung *mazād*, *dalāle*.

From the Regulations of Mea She'arim:

"The ovens shall be rented out annually in a public *mazat* to different bakers." <sup>224</sup>

(התנורים יושכרו בכל שנה במאזאט גלוי לאופים מובדלים).

In a notice to the borrower by the Jerusalem loan society חברה שערית we read: "...And if he will not pay what he still owes within a month... we will be compelled to sell his pledge without his consent... and without *mazat* [ובלי מאזאט] all in accordance with the regulations of our society."

See also: *bara'ne*, *baranu'vke*, No. 141. *bilma'ite*, No. 148. *gu'mruk*, No. 196. *khare'ben*, No. 135. *mabru'k*, No. 147. *magza'n*, No. 272. *masa'ri*, No. 142. *nasi'b*, No. 146. *rafiti'ye*, No. 196. *rasma'l*, No. 143. *ru'khse*, No. 195.

Mention should also be made of *coins*, no longer current, but still in the memories of the older Ashkenazic generation in connection with past events.<sup>225</sup> They are also frequently quoted in reports of the communal committees, in statutes of various societies, as well as in books (chiefly by Sephardic authors).

224. *Book of Regulations*, 27.

225. A detailed list, especially for the nineteenth century, is given by Yehoshu'a Yellin in his זכרונות לבני־ירושלים, 17—19.

All these were *Turkish* coins, the following being of silver:

393. *medži'de* = mağide (named after the Sultan 'abd al-mağīd, 1839-1861), valued at 20 gruš (piastres).

The *medžide* (=7.5 bišlik) was a 'respected' coin, being divided into halves and quarters, the latter known among Jerusalem Jews as a *fe'rtale*. The fare for a railroad ticket from Ramla to Jerusalem was a *medžide*.

394. *bišli'k* = five (Turkish: beş) gruš = 10 meteliks, approximately 0.5 franc.

395. *meteli'k* = metālīq, containing more copper than silver, of value a quarter of a gruš.

396. *pa're* = pāra, the smallest silver coin, and the most current, 1/40 gruš (known among Jews as *pru'te* = פרוטה) Details — see No. 78.

Of the *copper* coins, the most used were:

397. *kaba'k* — a large, heavy coin, valued at one U.S. cent before the first world war. — Cf. No. 76.

398. *sakhtu't* = saḥṭūṭ = ½ kabak. Cf. No. 77.

The *sakhtu't* (also pronounced *sartu't*) was the smallest coin, and before World War One had almost disappeared from circulation. Its existence remained in name only.

399. In addition to those mentioned above, the names of European coins were current among Ashkenazim in connection with the complicated accounts of the *khalu'ke* (Heb. חלוקה liter. division, distribution of charity funds in Palestine). Those in most use were the *napo'lyon* = Napoleon d'or, a gold coin of 20 francs (lira fransawiyye, in Arabic), and the *li're* = the pound sterling (lira ingliziye).

400. The coin most in use until recent years was the *pia'ster* (a name of Turkish origin) = piastre, Ar. qirš, pl. qurūš (lit. غرش pl. غروش). The current name for it among Ashkenazim, was *to'ler*, while גרש was used in official accounts.

R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer adds this remark concerning its names: "In Stambul [Constantinople] the toler is called plaster, equal

to forty pares, and in Palestine the toler has three names: toler, grūš, qirš." <sup>226</sup>

(אין סטאמבול הייסט איין טאלער פיאסטר ער איז פערציג פארעט, און אין ארץ ישראל הייסט דער טאלער דריי נעמין דהיינו[: טאליר, גרוש, קירש].

401. Half a piaster is a *tari'fe* = ta'rife.

The tarife was a small Egyptian coin introduced in Palestine by the British.

BW, 246: Piaster qirš [ghirš] (vgl. deutsch. Groschen): quruš;  $\frac{1}{2}$ ~ ta'rife.

\* az besakh-hakl [Heb. גסך הכל, 'sum total'] kost os a *tarife*, 'In all it costs [no more than] a t'.'

Of *weights*, the following are known:

402. *o'nse* = *ōqiyye* = ounce (BW, 146: Gewicht. = 240 gram).

It originates in Greek *onykia* and Latin *uncia*, but Fraenkel, 201, maintains that the Arabic form *ōqiyye* is derived from the Aramaic אוקיא [the more popular form being אונקיא]. See also Lokotsch, 1590.

403. Twelve onses make a *rotl* — raṭl or roṭl = 2.88 kg.

roṭl is a metathesis of Greek *litra* (the Roman pound being *libra*), Talmudic Aramaic ליטרא (Cf. Fraenkel, 202; Lokotsch, 1708. See also Joseph Perles, *Etymologische Studien*, Breslau, 1871, 55 n. 1).

404. The largest unit of weight is the *kanta'r* = קנטאר qontār = 100 roṭl = 288 kg.

Fraenkel, 203, is undoubtedly right in saying that this weight "ist aus dem röm. griech. Culturkreise zu den Arabern gekommen."

But his assumption that the Ar. qinṭār derives directly from the Aramaic קינטר and not from the Latin *centenarium* cannot be accepted, for we have the Talmudic Aramaic קנטנר, קנטניר as well, which he fails to mention (See also Lokotsch, 1178).

As a *liquid* measure, the qontar is mentioned in a Yiddish letter from Jerusalem, 1567: "I have made for you half a *qontar* of wine." <sup>227</sup> ("איך האב איין חצי קנטר וויין אויף דיך גימכט").

405. Of the *square measures*, which were to be heard in daily conversation, the best known is the *du'nam* = dunum (also dulum) = 1000 sq. m. 1/1000 of a dunam is an *eyl*, or *pik* = sq. ell.

226. *Sepher Koroṭh Ha'ittim*, 22a.

227. S. Assaf, Yiddish letters from the Holy City of Jerusalem (Hebrew), *Zion*, VII (1942), 71.



## CHAPTER XI

## CLOTHING

Clothing is almost a "national" feature by which an ethnic group with its own firm traditions, is recognized. This is true everywhere where time has not placed its mark on the old-fashioned mode of life of a nation, and this holds for Palestine as well. No great difficulty is encountered there in differentiating the native populace from other groups by their attire. Through it each group marks its identity, and because they are conservative, the mutual influences of the different clothing are weak; for each one of them clings to his own.

No wonder, then, that the same conservative trait is to be found among the Ashkenazim who continued to dress in the same fashion as did past generations in Poland, Lithuania and Russia. The Ashkenazic Jew even brought with him the "*fu'terne štrayml*", the cap edged with fur, the characteristic headgear of the Ḥasidim in Poland, the use of which is strange in a country of subtropical climate.

Thus one Jerusalem observer a hundred years ago remarks concerning the differences in dress between the two main Jewish groups: "The language of the Ashkenazim is that of abroad, and the same applies to their clothing which is the same as in their native lands a generation ago. Only a few among them, residing here for a considerable time, dress themselves with some changes, as the Sephardim do. The Sephardim dress themselves in broad garments, a small cap (*fese*) on their head which they wrap with a scarf (*šal* [= shawl]), and those of high standing (the Ḥaḥamim) also wrap their neck with an expensive shawl . . . They are modest-

ly dressed in long garments, and the women are chiefly wrapped in white blankets." <sup>228</sup>

A Jew of the Old Ashkenazic community may be recognized by his clothing, consisting on week-days of a *kafta'n*, an overcoat; a *rok*, coat, covering the kaftan; *ga'tkes*, drawers, instead of trousers; *zokn*, socks, in black or white, over the *ga'tkes*; and *panto'fl*, slippers instead of shoes, which were not common. On the Sabbath one puts on a *zaydene džube'*, a long silken overcoat with a colored lining, fastened with a broad *gartl*, belt, of various colors, and on the head is the *štrayml*, the cap edged with fur, mentioned above.

The women are recognized chiefly by their headgear, a white *tikh*, a kerchief, or a *haybl*, a hood, or a *ya'zme*, a voile of tulle to cover the hair, while on the Sabbath a *šal*, a shawl, is worn over the shoulders.

From all the above, it is obvious that only a few Arabic words for clothing penetrated into Yiddish and they are chiefly related to Arabs. <sup>229</sup> Among these are:

406. *fes* (also *fe'ske*) = Turkish *fes* = *fez*, red Turkish cap.

*fes*, called *طربوش* *ṭarbūš* in Arabic (for its various names, see *BW*, 118: *Fes*), was so named by the Turks after the city of Fez, Morocco, where it originated. In the past few decades the *fes* has been produced in Europe, especially in Austria (*Littmann, Wörter*, 39; *Lo-kotsch*, 596).

407. *kefi'ye* = *كوفيه* *kūfiya* = shawl for covering the head (made in *kūfa*, a town in the province of Baghdad).

*BW*, 192: [Kopf]tuch der Männer *kéffijje*.

408. The *kūfiya* is held tight by the *aga'l* = 'iqāl = head-band, woven chiefly of camel-hair.

The *kefiye* and the 'iqāl are worn by the elderly Bedouins and Fellāḥīn, and in the past Jewish watchmen adorned their heads with them.

228. Moshe Nehemiah Kahanov, קינטרס שאלו שלום ירושלים! (Odessa, 1867), 3.

229. For a detailed list, see L. Bauer, *Kleidung und Schmuck der Araber Palästinas*, *ZDPV*, XXIV (1901), 32—38.

According to *BW*, 192, the 'iqāl is made of goat-hair: [Kopf]kordel aus Ziegenhaar um das [Kopf]tuch gelegt 'iqal: 'uqul, -at.

409. *aba'ye* = عباية 'abāy, usually for عبا 'abā = a wide striped cloak used by Fellāhīn and Bedouins, made of camel-hair or wool (see Adolf Brüll, *Trachten der Juden im nachbiblischen Alterthume*, I, 1873, 51, n. 1; Lokotsch, 2).

*BW*, 213: Mantel d[e]s Fellachen 'abāi, 'abāh: 'ubi.

410. *pantalo'nes* = baṇṭalōn (*BW*, 172: Hose) = pantaloons.

It is French *Pantalon*, so named because it was used by the Venetians, who were called *Pantalones*, after their patron saint Pantalone or Pantaleon, contraction of Greek pantelemone = all-merciful.

*pantalones* is to be found in Yiddish (Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 359) having penetrated from Russian<sup>230</sup>; and the Ashkenazim retained it from the country of their origin.

Of the names for garments used directly by the Old Yishuv, the following are known:

411. *džube'* = جبة ġubbe = overcoat with very full sleeves (*BW*, 237: oberrock der Städter), which is a short Bedouin coat, colored red, with a silk border at the sleeves.

Ashkenazim use it for a long cloak of black cloth, wool or velvet.

*BW*, 213: Mantel, explains: "~ des Geistlichen (Muh. Christ, Jude) mst. schwarz u. lang." It is perhaps called so among the Arabs, but his reference to it as a special Jewish clerical garb is without foundation, for it is in general use.

Of considerable interest is the migration of this word and its various forms, e.g. in Yiddish: *zu'pece*, *žu'pece*, *yu'bece*, *yu'pece*, *yu'pe*.<sup>231</sup> It is perhaps a vestige of the German *Joppe*, *Jupe*, or rather a derivative from Polish *jupa* or Russian *yupa*. In German it penetrated from the Italian *giuppa*, *giubba*, and in the Slavic languages via the Tartars and Turks. All go back to the Arabic *ġubba* (see also Lokotsch, 737).

230. It is also listed by George S. Lane, *Words for Clothing in the principal Indo-European Languages* (= *Language Dissertations*, No. IX, September, 1931), 29, but no etymology is given.

231. See Noah Prilucki, דינאגאָרען (Dialogues on Language and Culture) (Warsaw, 1923), 94—95.

In the summer of 1934, I copied the following Hebrew-Yiddish sign in front of a store in Mea-She'arim, Jerusalem:

מקבלים להפוך, מ'נייט  
קאפטינס, זיבעס, חלאטען  
סידריעס, במקח הזול:  
מרים אוירבאך, מאה שערים  
ע"י בית הכנסת חב"ד

In English translation it reads:

We accept tailoring. We sew overcoats, cloaks, loose cloaks, waistcoats, at the cheapest price. Miryam Averbakh, Mea-She'arim, at the Habad synagogue.

412. *sidri'ye* = صدرية *şidriye* (Talmudic Aramaic צדרייחא — Cf. Adolf Brüll, *Trachten der Juden*, 67—68) = waistcoat.

BW, 385: Weste *şidrijje*: *şadāri*.

413. *fu'ste* (also *fusta'n*, *fu'stn*) = فستان (also *fustān*) *fustān* = woman's dress.

Lokotsch, 621, connects it with *Fusṭāṭ*, a Cairo suburb, where this cloth was produced.

BW, 125: [Frauen]kleid *fustan*: *fasāṭin*.

## CHAPTER XII

## PASTIMES, AMUSEMENTS

In a community holding to a traditional way of life, laid down by generations, where each step outside the accepted norms is governed by religious restrictions, one does not expect any original way of entertainment and pastime. The little to be found here was also taken over from the Arab neighbors, as shown by the following expressions:

414. *kaye'fen* — from Ar. كَيْف *kēf* = enjoyment (*BW*, 392: wohlbehagen) and كَيْف to make merry.

\* men hot *gekaye'fet* af vos di velt šteyt, 'We have enjoyed ourselves with might and main.'

\* men hot gemakht a *kef*, 'We had a good time'.

\* er iz *imka'yef* [= *imkayyef*], 'He lives in grand style.'

Concerning what the Arab considers as *kēf*, we are told the following: "The Arab has no better enjoyment and no greater "kef" than to sit still, smoke a cigaret and listen to emotional and exciting singing. [In a note, the writer explains the word *kēf* as "a special word in colloquial Arabic to designate exactly a certain kind of resting, similar to the Heb. נַחַת or נַחַת רַחֵם.<sup>232</sup>

Wagner, *Beiträge*, 15, n., adds: "kef = t. [Turkish] k'ef Wohlbehagen. Darunter verstehen die Türken bekanntlich Ausruhen im Freien bei Kaffee, Tabak und Musik."

415. *kha'dževen* — from Ar. ḥağğ, which liter. means to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, the most holy Muslim city. It is used in Yiddish metaphorically with the meaning of going abroad, as in the phrase:

\* hayntike caytn fort men keyn lond'n *kha'dževen*, 'Nowadays when one goes abroad he goes to London'.

232. David Yellin, *Selected Writings*, I, 255.

Enjoyment or "having a good time" is usually connected with riding or driving about "seeing places" as shown by the various names for a wagon or coach, taken over from the Arabs.

416. *tak* = *ṭak* = a two-wheeled wagon, harnessed to a single horse.

\* *mir'n forn špacirn mitn (oyfn) tak*, 'We will take a ride on the t'.'

417. *khantu'r* = *ḥantūr* (BW, 374: offender sog[enann-ter] amerikanischer [Wagen] = a light four-wheeled vehicle used for pleasure.

\* *mir'n dingen a khantu'r*, 'Let us hire a kh'.'

418. *kale'sh* [French caleche] = a wagon of fine make for riding, a fiacre, a hackney-coach.

419. *karo'sa* = *karrōsa*, Italian carrozza = a diligence, droshky. The call for a *karrōsa* to stop, is *a'ndak!* = 'andak = stop! (liter. near you).

\* *lomir nemen a karo'sa*, 'Let us take a k'.'

420. When driving out of town one may stop at a *khan* = خان *hān* = a primitive inn, to rest and "have a bite." (Cf. Lokotsch, 809).

The *hān* is an old institution and has not changed since the following description in a letter from Palestine of the year 1495:

"On the highways in these regions there is not a hotel with rooms, a bed and a table, but at the end of a day's journey one may find sometimes an open and uncovered house, called *al-han*, where bread, fruit and eggs are sold. There is no place to pass the night, and people stand in the middle of the courtyard, they together with their donkeys.<sup>233</sup>

(בגלילות האלה לא ימצאו בדרכים מחנה עם חדרים ומטה ושלחן רק לסוף יום אחד ימצא לפעמים בית פרוץ בלתי מכוסה הנקרא אל"חן ושם ימכרו לחם ופרות ובצות [ובצים] אבל אין מקום ללון רק האנשים יעמדו באמצע החצר הם וחמוריהם.)

421. Another way of enjoying oneself is to go to a *kavine* (Ladino for cafe), sit comfortably as Orientals do and smoke a *nargi'le* = نرجيلة (also أركيلة نارجيلة), a Persian loan-word *nārgilā* = narghile (also nargileh), a

233. Ein Anonymer Reisebrief, *Jahrbuch* (see n. 221, above), 276.

water-pipe. The smoke of the tobacco, called *tunbak*, which is placed on a small tray of red-hot coals, is purified through water in a *carafe*, connected with a rather long thin rubber pipe for puffing. Regular customers have *narghiles* of their own, which they smoke while sipping Turkish black coffee from tiny cups.

422. Merrymaking "in grand style", is — making a *fantazi'a*. With Arab *fellāhīn*, music and dancing are part of the *fantazia*, while Bedouins display their skill in horse-back-riding and brandishing swords.

Its etymology is obviously Greek *fantasia*, Latin *phantasia* (by the way of Italian *fantasia*) with the meaning of *fancy*, hence putting on a fancy show, and enjoying it.

See also *debken*, No. 249.

Children have their own way of enjoying themselves, and the little ones of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias or Safed are no exception to this rule. They too, like their parents, have taken over from the Arab children things for their enjoyment. They play with:

423. *gu'les*, pl. of *gu'le* = جُلّ gull, pl. جَلال glāl (BW, 197: Spielkugelchen) = "marbles."

424. *ta'be* = طابّة ṭābe (BW, 43: Ball, Spielball) = playing ball. *tu'be* is also heard.

425. *fare're* = فَرارة furrēra (BW, 195: Kreisel). This is a wooden spinning-top, wide at the top, narrowing to the bottom, which ends in a sharp metal point. To a tiny nail at its center a cord is fastened which is wound around the *furrēra*. By being tossed sharply to the ground, it gyrates on its point, while the loose end of the cord remains held in the hand.

426. *smel* (called also *boka'*) = the game of leap frog. This is how it is played: children stand in a row, bent forward, hands on knees, one behind the other, about 10-15 feet from each other. Each in turn jumps over the one in front of him, thus forming a "never-ending" line.

427. *taya're* = طيارّة tayyāra (from طير to let fly) = child's kite (it penetrated also to Hebrew-speaking children in Palestine). The saying is \* *lozn a taya're*, to let fly a kite.

## CHAPTER XIII

## FARMERS' LANGUAGE

Although the Jewish farmers in Palestine, known as *koloni'stn*, belong on account of their occupation — farming and plantation growing — to the New Yishuv rather than to the Old Settlement, their Yiddish, full of the Arabic usages and expressions mentioned in previous chapters, may be included in this study. Moreover, the daily contact of the Jewish farmers with their Arab neighbors is much closer than that of the city people. Their plantations, vineyards and fields were chiefly cared for by Arab laborers, and their housework was done by Arab women. As a result, their Yiddish was more “arabized” and is rich in technical terms connected with field and plantation work, many of them becoming an integral part of the Arabic elements in Palestine Yiddish.

428. The various labor processes connected with grain-growing are called *fa'lkhe* = Ar. *falḥa*, *falāḥa*, liter. tillage, agriculture.

429. Of the varieties of grain, *du're* is best known after wheat and barley. Of *dure* = دורה *dura* = broom-corn, three kinds are known: *dura bēḍa* = white d. (*Sorghum annuum*; *BW*, 180: Kaffer Korn), *dura ḥamra* = brown d. (*Panicum miliaceum*; *BW*, 170: Hirse), and *dura ṣafra* = yellow d. = maize, also Indian corn.

The *fellāḥīn* use *dura* in their daily diet, while Jewish colonists feed it to their animals.

430. The Arab workers hired by the Jewish colonists are known by the name *khara'tn*, pl. of *khara't* = حراث *ḥarrāt* = plougher, tiller.

*BW*, 245: Pflüger *šaddād*, als Instmann *ḥarrāt*: in.



431. Sometimes the earth must be hoed to as deep as 24 inches in order to reach the roots of the weeds. This kind of work is called *ba'kher* = *baḥer* = to till (the earth).

\* *er iz avek arbetn cum ba'kher*, 'He went off to uproot the weeds.'

432. A special kind of weed reaching deep, with its roots sucking the earth, is the *indži'l* = انجيل 'ingīl = Bermuda Grass (*Cynodon Dactylon*), also Dog's Tooth Grass (*BW*, 173: [Hunds]zahn).

\* *men darf oysraysn dem indži'l*, 'We have to uproot the Bermuda Grass.'

433. After removing the grain from the field, the sheaves are kept in the open until dry, on the *baya'der* = يشر pl. يادر = threshing floor (*BW*, 146: [Korn]-Schranne Naz[arīn] ġrēne, Nabl[us] bajāzīr (pl.)).

\* *zolst šlofn afn baya'der*; *haynt* is a *sako'ne* [Heb. סכנה danger] *cu lozn dem baya'der he'fker* [Heb. הפקר, ownerless property], 'You will have to sleep on the threshing floor; nowadays it is dangerous to leave it unwatched.' [Overheard in Metula, Upper Galilee].

434. An addition to the *baya'der* is the *džu'ren* = جرن [جرين] ġūrēn [Heb. גורן] = storehouse (liter. threshing-floor) to keep the *ti'ben* = تبن tiben [Heb. תבן] = straw.

\* *nem di me'džrefe*, *gey aroys cum džu'ren* *un nem arayn dem ti'ben*, 'Take the hoe, get out to the threshing floor and fetch in the straw.' (overheard in the colony of Ekron).

*me'džrefe* = مجرفة mağrafe = hoe. See also No. 363.

Some terms are connected with the work on plantations, especially orange groves:

435. The common name for an orange grove, is *baya're* (pl. -s) = *baiyāra* (pl. *baiyārāt*). *pa'rdes*, pl. *pardey'sim* (Heb. פארדס, פריסים) are also heard.

Concerning the orange groves, Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, I:2, 555, adds: "Ihre Pflanzungen heissen schlechtweg *baijāra*, weil sie ohne einen Grundwasserbrunnen (*bir*) nicht denkbar sind."

The first Hebrew quarterly for Agriculture "קאלאגיסט" האכר דער (Jerusalem, 1894-97), looking for an adequate Hebrew terminology, used "גנית בית-השלחין (באירצ'") the Mishnaic term for a garden (or field) which needs irrigation.

\* r'ot [er hot] farflanct a fayne *baya're*, 'He planted a fine orange grove'.

\* r'ot šeyn a šeynem *pa'rdes*, 'He already has a beautiful orange grove'.

BW, 239: [Orangen]garten bejār|a: -ät.

436. An important element in a baiyāra is the *bi'rke* = בִּירְכָה birke (Heb. בִּרְכָה) = a cistern built of stone with a paved floor, plastered inside, to store water to irrigate the grove through pipes and especially made channels.

BW, 378: [Wasser]basin, =becken gemauert birke: burak.

437. Outside, the baiyāra is surrounded by *si'dres*, pl. of *si'dre* سِدْر sidr, pl. سُدُور sudūr = lote-tree (the botanical name is *Zizyphus Spina Christi*; BW, 75: *Christusdorn*). Its fruit, small red berries, is called *dom* = dōm.

438. Inside, the branches, heavily laden with oranges, are supported by *sina'des*, pl. of *sina'de* = سِنْد sanad (pl. *asnād*) = support, little pole.

BW, 314: [Stütz]e Holz sänd|e: -ät.

439. Damaged oranges, which have lost their form and appearance or have been lying on the ground for a long time, belong to the category of *bra're* = *barārī* = بَرَارِي pl. of بَرِيَة = waste. — See also *portuga'l*, *šamu'ti*, *khuškha'sh*, No. 336; *mandari'nkes*, *yusu'f efe'ndis*, No. 337; *klemanti'ne*, No. 338.

440. For cultivating the plantations, various types of hoes are used, among them *turi'ye* = *tūriye* (see No. 365), *maku'sh* = مَكْش minkāš (from نَكش to dig), and *pyoš*, from the French *pioche*, pronounced *byoš* by the Arabs.

The farmers' language, especially of those breeding animals, is rich in Arabisms, as may be seen from the following phrases:

441. \* bist šeyn geven af der *rabi'e*?, 'Have you already been to the pasturage?' — *rabi'e* رِبْع = from رِبْع to feed animals on green feed.

442. \* *hoste šeyn gešikt dem ba'ker af der rabie?* 'Have you already sent the herd of sheep out to pasture?' — *ba'ker* = باقر *baqar* (Heb. בקר) = [herd of] sheep. — Nos. 441 and 442 heard in the colony of Mesḥa (מסחה), Lower Galilee.

BW, 367: Rind[vieh] *baqar*: -ät.

443. \* *Heršl! gey cu der mka'riye un nem a barl*, 'Hershl, go to the hirer of donkeys and get a mule': — *mka'rie* = mkāriye, pl. of mukāri (see No. 375) = an ass-hirer. *barl* = baghl = mule.

444. \* *tati! vos teyg dir geyn ma'si? nem beser dem džakhš un rayt-arop cu der mkha'te*, 'Father, why should you walk? better take a donkey and ride to the station.' — *ma'si* = maši = to walk; *džakhš* = جاش *ğahiš* = young ass, colt; *mkha'te* = محطة *maḥaṭṭa* = railroad station. — Nos. 443 and 444 heard in Zi'khren Ya'nkef (זכרון-יעקב) or *samari'n* as the settlement was known in the Yishuv by its Arabic name (Zamārīn).

BW, 136: gehen marschieren *miši*, F[ellachisch] *maša*, *maši*; 43: [Bahn]hof *maḥaṭṭa*: -ät.

Other domesticated animals mentioned, are:

445. *gaml* = جمال *ğemal* (also *ğamal*) = camel. The pronunciation of the hard *g* in this word shows clearly that here the Heb. גמל is the origin and not the Arabic. Additional proof of this is the plural *gma'lim* גמלים which is used in speech.

\* *er iz gegangen bodn dem gaml*, 'He went off to wash the camel'. (In Safed this phrase has an ambiguous meaning, referring to coitus).

\* ...*štelt er op dem gaml*, *un geyt arop cum key'ver* [Heb. קבר *grave*], '...so he stopped the camel, and got off to [pay a visit at] the grave.'

\* *yeder os* [Heb. אות *letter*] *iz greys vi a gaml*, 'Each letter is as big as a camel' (heard from Jerusalem typesetters speaking of large type).

446. *asi'l* = أصيل *ašīl* (Heb. אציל, only with the meaning 'noble') = a horse of good (liter. noble) breed. The Arabs say *ḥsān ašīl* = a pedigree (liter. a beautiful [noble]) horse.

BW, 314: edle [Stute] ašile.

\* far finf funt ken men haynt keyfn an *asi'l*, 'One may nowa-days buy a fine horse for five pounds'.

447. *akra'b* = عَرَب 'aqrab (Heb. עֶקְרָב) = scorpion [Accent proves derivation from Hebrew].

\* er't gekhapt a bis fun an *akra'b*, 'He was bitten by a scorpion.'

448. Sometimes one may hear fancy stories about the *de'be* = دَابَّة dēbbe = "beast of burden". In Arabic it is known as *dēbbe al arḍ* 'the beast of the earth' said to appear towards the end of the world.

However, *dēbbe* is rather a popular etymology for *ḍabi'* [Heb. צִבְיָה] 'hyena', a rather large and strong, but cowardly carnivorous mammal. The Arabs lived in great fear of this beast, and Fellahin usually hurried to come home from work before sunset for they have heard many awesome stories about its doings.

449. Among farmers one may hear words not in common use among townspeople. Thus, when they engage watchmen to guard their property, they may stipulate how often each has to make a *dur* = دُور dōr = a turn (around the orange grove for instance).

\* kum un mir veln makhn a *dur* in die gertener, 'let us go, and we will make our turn in the gardens,' was a common saying with watchmen and farmers.

BW, 265: [Rund]gang dōra.

450. One may often find in a farmer's yard a *ma'zbele* = مَزْبَلَة mazbele = a manure-heap, following the manner of Arab fellāḥīn. The main difference is that with the latter the communal mazbele is outside the village, serving also as a meeting place where they discuss, usually in the late afternoons, *syāse*, politics or other pertinent matters in the life of the village.

451. In old farmers' yards one may still find a *tabu'n* = תַּבּוּן, a stove for baking. The ṭābūn of the fellāḥīn, set up at a

distance from the house, is usually shared by several families. It is built of rather large stones or of much used tin plates, and paved with smooth, flat stones. It is usually heated with thorns, pieces of wood and dried dung.

Characteristic are the *nicknames* among farmers. Following the Arab manner they have as their compound *أبو* *abū*-the nominative preceding the name of an Arab calling himself proudly after his eldest son, e.g. *abū yūsif*, *abū šāleḥ*, etc. The nicknames themselves are related to some branch of their work. Thus, I have noted:

452. *abu'džadž* = *abū ḡāḡ* = the one who keeps himself busy with chickens.

The name of this particular farmer was *šleyim-i'ce* [contraction of the Biblical *שלמה-יצחק*] from *rišn* [as the name of the colony *ראשון לציון* is contracted], and to the inquiry "velkher šleyim-i'ce?" (Which š.-i'-.?), the answer would be: "nu, der bavuster abu-džadž" (Well, the famous *abū-ḡāḡ*).

453. *abu-bacl* = *abū baṣl* [Heb. *בצל*] = the one who grows onions.

The full name was "*fun abu-bacḥs mišpo'khe* [Heb. *משפחה* family]" (of the *abu-bacḥs* family) with the twofold meaning that: 1) the family is not held in high esteem, 2) its members became prosperous by selling onions (This explanation was given me about a certain family in Jerusalem).

When new quarters were built on the Jaffa Road in Jerusalem by a member of this family, they were named after it, and of one living there the saying was: \* er veynt in *abu-bacl'* (or: *a'bu ba'sal*), or \* er hot a dire [Heb. *דירה*] in *a.-b.*, 'He lives (or, has an apartment) at a.-b.'

## CHAPTER XIV

## FOLK MEDICINE

In concluding the study of the Arabic elements in the Yiddish language of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine, I shall include my notes on folk medicine among Jews in Jerusalem. They prove once more how close were the contacts between Jews and Arabs in the "Holy Land", to the extent that even in matters of health and physical well-being Jews placed their confidence in the *khi'kmet arabī'ye* = حكمة عربية hikmet 'arabīye (liter. Arab science) = Arab medicines, as these folk remedies are known among Ashkenazim.<sup>234</sup>

454. "vi cu makhn a *huba'l* — a *melici'n* far revmatizm — layndde: m'nemt *ey'zev*, *marmari'e* (a *šmekediker groz*), *rumya'nek*, *vilde cibeles* (me keyft dos in di "fintere kleytn"), m'leygt arayn in a top, m'dekt'os cu, m'ken nokh arumklepn a *štikl* teyg, s'kokht un di pare geyt aruf afn menčn."

*huba'l* = *hubbāl* (Heb. הובל) = steam bath.

*melici'n* = a medicine, remedy; a pronunciation from Ladino *melezi'na*, with *d > l* (Cf. Wagner, *Beiträge*, 117).

*ey'zev* = Heb. אַזוב, colloquial Ar. *zūfa* = Hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*).

*marmari'e* = perhaps *marmaritis*, a plant growing in marble quarries (hence its name), used as a drug.

234. The following notes were taken by me in the summer of 1936 as I heard from Mrs. Cipey're [Biblical צפורה Zipporah] Rabinovitch, a native of the Jewish quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem, the mother of one of my students in the Girls School on Mt. Zion (בית־ספר לבנות הרצון).

I give these notes in her original Yiddish formulation (followed by a translation into English, preceded by the explanation of the various terms), thus preserving her style which again reflects a characteristic mode of life practiced for generations.

*rumya'nek* = Polish *Rumianek* = Camomile (*Matricaria chamomilla*). Ar. *bābūniġ*, a Persian loanword.

*vilde ci'bele* = Yiddish "wild onions" = squill (*Scilla maritima* L.), Ar. *baṣal alfār* 'The mouse onion', because of its lethal effect on them, colloquial *buṣṣēl* (BW, 216: Meerzwiebel). The bulb of squill has been known as a medicine from earliest ages, and is still used as a diuretic and expectorant.

*di "finctere kleytn"*, 'the dark stores' — See, Appendix III, No. 35.

How to prepare a steam-bath — a remedy for sufferers from rheumatism: one has to take hyssop, marmarie (an aromatic herb), camomile, squill (it may be obtained in the "dark stores" [of the Jerusalem market in the Old City]), and put them in a pot, which is covered — a piece of dough may also be pasted around — and when it boils, the steam should be applied to the person.

455. "nokh a melicin cum revmatizm: m'nemt *tinfi'l* (azeyne reyte kerlakh), m'cešteyst un m'leygt es arayn in vaysn špirt (eyn onse špirt) 24 šo [Heb. שעה hour]. m'bašmirt dem gancn kerper un s'heybt on cu brenen vi a *khardl*."

*tinfi'l* = perhaps the seeds of *Trifolium melilotus*, odoriferous trefoil, or *Trifolium Alexandrinum* which is more common in Palestine.

*kha'rdl* = ḥardal [Heb. חררל] = mustard (of the plant *Sinapis* sp.). On its Syriac-Aramaic origin, see Fraenkel, 141.

Another remedy for rheumatism: one takes *tinfil* (a sort of red seed), pounds it and puts it in pure spirits, alcohol (in one ounce of spirits) for 24 hours. The whole body should be smeared with it, and it begins to burn like mustard."

456. "rifu'es [Heb. רפואות 'remedies'] cum mogn.

1. far a krampung untern boykh: finf *bso'mim* (negelakh), a bisl *ru'de* — far a gut oyg, a bisl *marmari'e*, a bisl *ey'zev*, a bisl *na'ne* (di grine nane, a groz)."

*bso'mim* = Heb. בשמים (or Yiddish *negelakh*) spices. Ar. qurunful (also urunful; BW, 232: Nelke) = clove pink (*Dianthus Caryophyllus*).

*ru'de* = Ladino ruda, colloq. Ar. *saḍābye* (BW, 255: Raute) = rue or ruta (*Ruta graveolens*). It is a strong-scented plant, very popular in Oriental Jewish communities in Palestine, who use it as a spice at the ushering out of the Sabbath (see

Ephraim Hareuveni, *Zion*, IV [1930], 98, n. 15), and generally as a remedy against "an evil eye".<sup>235</sup>

*marmarie* — See No. 454.

*ey'zev* = See No. 454.

*na'ne* = ננע *na'na'* (BW, 220: Minze) = Mint (*Mentha sylvestris*).

Remedies for the stomach:

1. Against a cramp under the abdomen: five cloves, some ruta — against the evil eye, some *marmarie*, some Hyssop, and some mint (the green mint, a kind of a grass).

457. 2. "cu a štayfn mogn:

faran getriknte *kundža'yelakh*, vos af arabiš ruft men dos *vard*. m'kokht es op, vert derfun *roy'znvaser* un m'trinkt dos ufgekokhterheyt afn nikhtern haren. dos darf zayn ganc zis, virkt dos beser."

*kundža'yelakh* = a name of Ladino origin.

*vard* = ward = rose.

*roy'znvaser* = mā' ward = rose-water.

2. For a constipated bowel:

There are dried *kundžayes*, called in Arabic *ward*. When cooked [in water], it becomes rose-water which one drinks, after it is made to boil, on an empty stomach. To obtain a better effect, it should be very sweet.

458. 3. "az m'vil aynhaltn dem mogn ba a kleyn kind. — cu a gor a švakhn, a šleyimikn mogn: m'nemt *karui'ye*, azeyne pičinke kerlakh, m'klaybt dos oys fun di šteyner, m'kokht es uf un m'heybt on cu gebn friert a lefale, dan — cvey, bizvanet der kind vert šeyn gezunt."

*karui'ye* = کارویا *karāwiyā* = caraway (*Carum carvi* L.) Cf. Lokotsch, 1087.

To bind the bowels of a little child, when the stools are very loose and slimy: one takes caraway, a sort of very tiny seed, which may be gathered from behind rocks. It is brought to boil, and at first one teaspoon is given, then — two and so on until the child has entirely recovered.

235. In her reminiscences Itta Yellin relates how this plant was applied after she gave birth to a baby: "My bed was ornamented with... branches of "ruda" that an evil eye, God forbid, should not acquire power over the baby and the woman in confinement (Sephardim and Ashkenazim alike used this fragrant plant against the evil eye) [י'אזאזאז, I (Jerusalem, 1941), 51].



459. "a rifu'e [Heb. רפואה] cum kaykhust: geven a froy fun a *khakha'm* [Heb. חכם as a Sephardic Rabbi is called], vos hot gezen vi di kinder hobn zakh štark cuhust, un zi hot gezogt: "vos lozte azey di kinder hustn? kum, kh'vil dir keyfn rifu'es in di finctere kleytn, un eyb in dray teg vet dos nit helfn, heist nit mayn man Mo'rdkhe [Biblical מרדכי], der zun irer iz in Kana'de [Canada] gevorn fun di ale rifues a greyser profesor. di rifues hot ir man aroysgenumen fun Ra'mbam [רמב"ם, of abbreviation מ"מון רבי משה Maimonides]. un azey vi kh'hob nit gevust vi dos iz gekumen, azey hob ikh nit gevust vi dos iz avek. derbay ho'ci [hot zi] mir ongezogt: "ikh bašver aykh ba got, ba a reynikayt, ir zolt nit zogn az kh'hob aykh geheysn keyfn ot di melicin."

"ot zaynen di artiklen fun der rifue:

yam [Heb. ים] — lokšn, in arabiš heyst'os *knā'fat el-bakhr*; *bize'r safardža'l* — dos makht, az di ley'khec [Heb. לחות 'phlegm'] zol aroys, dos zaynen kerndlakh fun *bombri'es*. az dos halt bam endikn dem sezon, triknt men dos un m'cišikt es in di kleytn. brengen brengt men di rifues fun *šam* un fun *stanbu'l* [Constantinople]; *balasa'n* — aza geler groz; *flo'res* — azey vi gele reyzalakh; *mana'fše* — a groz; un nokh azeyne zakhn."

*knā'fat el-bakhr* = كنافات البحر *knāfāt el-baḥr* = ?

*bize'r safardža'l* = buzur safarḡal = seeds of quince (Cydonia vulgaris).

*bombri'es* [see Appendix I, No. 20] = quince.

*šam* = eš-šām, abbreviation of شمال = North [of Palestine] = Syria.

*balasa'n* = يلسان *bēlasān* (BW, 171: Holunder; Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, 1: 2, 565 notes *bēlasān berri*, "wilder Holunder") = elder (shrub or tree of the genus *Sambucus*, bearing red or black berries).

*flo'res*, pl. of *flo're* = Ladino *flora*, yellow rose.

*mana'fše* = ?

A remedy for whooping-cough [this is preceded by the following explanation]: The wife of a Sephardic Rabbi came to visit me and seeing how the children got into a fit of coughing, she said to me: "Why do you let the children cough without a letup? Come along with me and I will buy you the appropriate remedies in the 'dark stores', and if that does not help after three days, then my husband's name

will no longer be Mordecai [a kind of oath to swear on someone's life]'. On account of these remedies her son, in Canada, became a famous Professor [implying, in Yiddish, a famous doctor]. Her husband had borrowed the remedies from Maimonides. Somehow or other, I did not know what brought on the sickness, and I likewise did not know how it disappeared. Thereat she warned me with the following words: "I adjure you before God and before the scroll of the Law not to disclose to anyone that I told you to buy this medicine."

Here are the compounds of this remedy:

"Sea noodles", called in Arabic *knāfāt el-bahr*; seeds of quince, namely seeds of bombries, causing the phlegm to discharge; people drink it at the end of its season, and the seeds are then distributed in the stores [for sale]. It is imported from Syria and Constantinople; in addition the following should be taken: berries of the elder-tree; flores — a kind of yellow rose; *manafshe* — a certain herb; and the like.

#### 460. "rifues cu hobn kinder:

1. faran ze're [Heb. זרע 'semen'], vos iz kalte; — iz faran a ri'fue vos derhiet dos un s'vert dan a ingl. men banuct dos di nakht vos me geyt in tvi'le [Heb. טבילה 'ritual immersion']:

di ri'fue: m'nemt abisl *tenfi'l*, m'cešteyst dos un m'leygt dos arayn in koñak, un beyde, i di froy i der man, trinken dos oys. m'nemt dos nor eyn mol!"

*tenfi'l* = *tinfi'l* = See No. 455.

Remedies in connection with bearing children:

1. It occurs sometimes that the seed [of a man or of a woman] is of a cold nature. Well, a remedy is available by which it is warmed up, and as a result a baby-boy is born. This should be applied the very same night that the ritual immersion is performed.

Here is the remedy: one takes some *tenfil* which should be pounded and put into cognac, and both the man and the woman should drink it. This should be applied only once!

461. 2. "az di geber-muter šteyt nit af a plac, as s'iz faran a bisl flus — ken zi nit švangern, iz faran dercu cvey zakhn es zol opreynikn: *tekhilza'n* — azeyne štekalakh, men keyft far a halbn piaster; un *kheza'ma* — aza min [Heb. מין 'kind'] groz. m'kokht uf beyde zakhn cuzamen un m'trinkt bizvanet es geyt avek di 'cayt'."

*tekhilza'n* = تخ الزان *zuwwān* [BW, زوان; *tahh il-zān* (also 318: Taumelloch)] = dregs of darnel (*Lolium temulentum*), a grass with intoxicating qualities.

*kheza'ma* = خزامی *ḥuzāma* = lavender (*Lavandula vera*).

2. In case the womb moves, and the woman stains slightly — she will not become pregnant. There are two ingredients for cleaning it: daniel, in the form of stalks, which may be bought for half a plaster; and lavender, and the woman should drink it until the menstruation disappears.

462. 3. "az s'zol veykhn di geber-muter, ir breyter makhn: laynenzomen (af arabiš *bizakita'n*). m'keyft gance kerner, me pražet oys, m'cešteyst, ale in der fri afn nikhter-nem haren nemt men dos af a gloz milkh. azey tut men zibn teg.

"nokh dem nemt men a cveyte melicin: *khab erisa's* — aza min ayzn vos štarkt di geber-muter. es iz gut cucunemen *rumyanek*.

*bizakita'n* = بذار کتان *biḍār* [also *bizār*] *kittān* = linseed.

*khab erisa's* = حب الرصاص *ḥabb er-raṣās* = grain of lead.

*rumya'nek* = See No. 454.

To soften the womb, to widen it: linseed (called in Arabic *bizakitan* [*biḍār kittān*] — whole seeds should be used — which is first roasted, and then pounded. It is taken every morning on an empty stomach in a glass of milk. This is repeated for seven days.

This is followed by another medicine: *khab erisas* [*ḥabb er-raṣās*] — it is a sort of iron which strengthens the womb. It is also advisable to add camomile.

Other Arabic medical terms in Palestine Yiddish are:

463: *šo'rbe* = شربة *šarbe* (*BW*, 203: Laxiermittel) = laxative.

*šarbe*, or *šarāb* (from *šarīb* to drink) is generally "a drink", and the origin of *syrup*, in all its various forms in the European languages, as well as of the cooling drink *sherbet* (Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, 87—89; Littmann, *Wörter*, 29; Lokotsch, 1838).

464. *khara're* = ḥarāra (from *ḥarr* 'to be hot') = 'prickly heat', a skin disease, eruption of red pimples, with intense itching. It occurs mostly during the summer and is caused by inflammation around the sweat ducts. Those affected by it tried to alleviate their discomfort by rubbing in alcohol.

In colloquial Arabic, *ḥarara* is also the eye disease trachoma (*BW*, 323: Trachom).

Concerning folk medicine in Palestine, my friend, Mr. Ammihud Nahmani of New York, a native of Rehovoth, Palestine, and familiar with the ways of life of the Old Yishuv, related to me the following:

465. One of the well known "doctors" in the Old City of Jerusalem before the First World War was "Yehoshua Yenke der reyfe" [Heb. רופא, 'healer, doctor']. His 'patent' was a remedy for wounds, especially of the breasts. It was popularly known as גן-עדן-וואסער 'ganey'dn-vaser' ('Paradise water'), or יהושע יענקעס וואסער ('Yehoshua Yenkes water'). The ingredients of this medicine remained a family secret, and while preparing it for his clients he took good care that no outsider be present.

Among the first settlers in the Jerusalem quarter of Meah She'arim (in Yiddish: *me'ye sho'rim*) who resided there in the years 1874-1881, mention is made by Joseph Joel Rivlin (in his book מאה שערים, Jerusalem, 1947) of the 'healer' R. Joshua Jonah (ר' יהושע יונה הרופא). Concerning him, the writer notes (*ibid.*, p. 152): "R. Joshua Jonah (the healer) was a well-known 'doctor', famous for his drops against eye diseases, called יהושע יונה'ס וואסערל ('the drops of Joshua Jonah')."

466. A medicine popular among Jews in Safed was *malhiyeh*, a herb, otherwise unidentified, for the purpose of increasing the iron contents of the blood.

467. They have also made use of *rabarba're*, Ar. *rāwand*, a medicinal herb of the genus *Rheum*, especially *Rheum officinale*. It was used as a purgative and stomachic bitter.

This herb was also known among Jews in Europe and its application was apparently introduced from there among Jews in Palestine.

## CHAPTER XV

## ADDITIONAL ARABISMS IN PALESTINIAN YIDDISH

This supplementary chapter contains a number of additional Arabic words, usages and phrases originating mainly with Jewish *kolonistn*, 'colonists' (settlers) of the settlements in Judaea. Also noted are some vocables of the Yiddish of Jerusalem.

With the establishment of the first Jewish settlements, Petah Tikvah, in 1878, and then of other *kalonyes* (pl. of *kalo'nye*, 'settlement'), Jewish farmers came into daily contact with Arabs. Arab Fellahin were engaged as laborers in the vegetable gardens, fields of *falḥa*, 'grain,' in *bayares*, 'orange groves,' and in *kro'mim* (pl. of Hebrew *ke'rem*, 'vineyard'). Together with new techniques introduced by them, they also made use of native Arab ways of farming and labor processes and their implements. As a result, Arabic terms and usages were introduced into the farmers' language.

As settlement developed, the Jews, in acquiring land, had to deal with the Turkish authorities, and often to engage in litigation in order to secure title to their holdings. Consequently, a considerable number of administrative terms connected with the Courts, officials, institutions, taxes and the like came into daily use. The officials, together with their names and functions, quickly became known to the settlers, and more so during World War One, when the Turkish authorities issued oppressive orders against the Jewish community in Palestine — a situation which, too, is reflected in this chapter.

Moreover, Jewish farmers acquired fluency in the Arabic language itself, with the opportunity this gave them of observing the daily life and customs of the Arabs. Out of these

contacts came an influx of numerous Arabic words into the Yiddish language of the Jewish farmer and his family.

All these additional Arabisms given in this supplementary chapter follow the system of division of the earlier chapters and the Vocabulary. The entries are numbered consecutively, and reference is made, wherever possible, to similar vocables already mentioned.

The Arabic words are given in transliteration after their enunciation in the colloquial Arabic of the Fellahin. In some instances, the transliteration into literary Arabic is also given.

The entries are followed by references to Bauer, *Wörterbuch des palästinischen Arabisch* (= BW) and his *Das palästinische Arabisch* (= Bauer) which note the vocables in the dialects of the urban Arabs and the Fellahin.

Some phonetic features, not previously mentioned, are to be noted here:

1. The velarized emphatic voiced consonant /z/ is changed into alveolar voiced /d/, the exception being only the imperative *unzur*, 'look.' Thus, *abū el [en]-nazzarāt* > *abu el-nadarat*.

2. To the vocables undergoing a change from the velar-emphatic /q/ to a sonant velar stop /g/, mentioned above [3(c), p. 122], the following are to be added:

Arabic *milqat* > in Yiddish *milgat*, 'pincers'; *mqāwale* > *megavele*, 'contract'; *qamardīn* > *gamardin*, 'marmelade of apricot'; *qannīne* > *ganiye*, 'bottle'; *qaṣal* > *gasal*, 'husks (of grain)'; *qird* > *gird*, 'devil'; *salaq(e)* > *salage*, 'level and fertile plain'; *saqiya* > *segeye*, 'payment for drinking-water'.

It is to be noted that in Yiddish /k/ is fronted while in Arabic /k/ is rather far front, and /q/ much farther back. Compared to English phonetics, the Arabic /k/ and /q/ are not identical with the fronted and backed varieties of /k/.

3. Arabic /k/ becomes /g/. Thus, Arabic *abū rakuba* > *abu ragabe*, a nickname for 'hunchback'.

4. Arabic velar /gh/ becomes sonant velar stop /g/. Thus, *ghurba* > *gurba*, 'sieve'.

5. Labiodental voiceless fricative /f/ becomes bilabial voiceless stop /p/. Thus, Arabic *fsesi* > *psesi*, a bird of the family Troglodytidae.

6. The diphthong /au=aw/ becomes /av/: Arabic *mqāwale* > *megavele*, 'contract'; *ghazawīye* > *razaviye*, 'of the city of Gaza'; *samawīye* > *samaviye*, 'the glorified ones'.

### I. Interjections

468. *i'mši!* = ~, 'move on! remove yourself! scram!' — Cf. *yalla imši*, No. 1.

469. A dog is driven away, by Arabs and Jews alike, with the exclamation *e'tla!* = 'eṭla', 'get out!' — Cf. *e'tla bara*, No. 2.

470. A cat is called to come nearer, or to approach its owner, for instance, with *bis!* *bis!* while *bisse* in Arabic is cat.

471. *ya ze'lemi, -me!* = *yā zalame*, 'O, you man!', is a greeting as well as a word of encouragement or reproach.

Bauer, 99, notes: *jā zálame* oder — besonders unter Fel-lachen — mehr ehrend: *jā rāḡil* um einen unbekannten Mann anzurufen.

Cf. *ya khabibi*, No. 6; *ya sidi*, No. 7; *ya šeykh*, No. 8; *ya khavadža*, No. 87.

472. An answer to a rhetorical question or a confirmation of anything well known, is *maaru'f* = *ma'rūf*, 'certainly, self-evident, of course.'

BW, 52: *bekannt ma'rūf, ma'lūm*. — This is an adverbial form in difference from the noun of a like form (Cf. Nos. 43, 121).

473. An uncertainty, however, is expressed by *a'psar!* = *absar*, 'maybe, perhaps.' For instance, \* *s'et zayn a regn morgn?* — *apsar!*, 'will it rain tomorrow? — perhaps!' \* *s'et zayn arbet morgn?* — *ver veys?*, *apsar!*, 'will there be any work tomorrow? — who knows? maybe!'

We have to assume that *apsar* originates in Mishnaic Hebrew-Aramaic אפסר, yielding an Arabic form *absar*.

474. An interjection used especially in emphatic negation or rejection of a request, is *a'badan* = Ar. ~, 'never,' as in the phrase \* *vest'es ton far mir?* — *abadan!*, 'will you do it for me? — never!'

It is also used in a case of impossibility, as in \* *zi vet khasene* [Heb. חתונה] *hobn mit em?* ... *abadan!*, 'will she marry him? — never!'

BW, 234: *nie* (allein) *äbädän!* im Satz *ma... äbädän.*

475. An evasive answer to, or a refusal of, a request for help or the like, is *bu'kra*, or *bu'kra fil su'bekh* = ~, ~ *fi'l şubeḥ*, 'tomorrow, tomorrow morning' (Cf. *bukra fil mišmiš*, No. 15).

BW, 224: [Morgen] *früh bukra eş-şubeḥ.*

476. An interjection used invariably as a mild reproach, or an exclamation against evil, is *kha'nas* = *ḥanas*, literally 'to hide, to conceal,' but here used rather in the meaning of 'don't talk! shut up!' In Jerusalem Yiddish it is also employed as an admonition, contained in the phrase \* *bays zakh op dem cung!*, 'bite off your tongue' (and don't speak evil!).

BW, 287: [schweigen] *u[nd] nicht mucksen aḥnas, ḥanas.*

477. Children, expecting punishment from their parents or teachers, were warned by their friends with *u'şrud!* = Ar. ~, 'flee! escape! run!' It is sometimes employed as friendly advice without any connection with punishment.

*u'şrud* is imperative of *şarad*.

478. When one is excited, with or without reason, he may be calmed down with *itra'yakh!*, 'rest a while! take it easy! be at ease!', It is colloquial Arabic *itreiyah* (Bauer, 46), the Vth form of the verb *raḥa*, 'rest.' The active participle can be seen in the phrase \* *er iz mitrayakh*, 'He takes a rest.'

479. An exclamation, used mainly by Ashkenazic women in Jerusalem as an expression of grief about an accident or loss, is *ya kha'srati!* = *yā ḥaserti*, literally 'my misfortune!'



meaning 'woe to us! what a pity!', originating in Ar. ḥasra, 'sorrow, grief, distress.'

BW, 10: Bei e[ine]m Verlust sagt man: jā ḥaserti! (o, meinen Bedauern, Schmerz); Bauer, 99: jā ḥaserti! o mein Unglück! wie unglücklich bin ich!

480. A preventive speech formula, to keep away evil from someone, is *aba'd mi'nak!* = ab'ād minnak, 'farther (be it) from you!'. It is similar in meaning to the Hebrew and Yiddish phrases *לא עליך*\*, 'be it not so with you', and *נישט פאַר אײך געדאַכט!* (*ništ far aykh gedakht*), 'may this never happen to you!' It is usually the final part in a phrase like \* *er iz nebach grank, abad minak!*, 'it is a pity, he is sick, a. m.'

Some strong interjections expressing dismay and arrest in action are:

481. *khara'm!* = ḥarām, 'forbidden! a sin!', as in \* *kharam!* farvos hoste dos geton?, 'It is a sin! why did you do it?'. For the meaning of *ḥaram* and its semantic development, see No. 247.

BW, 350: verboten sündhaft ḥarām; Bauer, 99: jā ḥarām! o weh! Eigentl[ich]: Was für eine Sünde! Ausdruck des Bedauerns und Mitleids, auch der Missbilligung einer Handlung; *ibid.*, 117: ḥarām 'alēk es ist dir verboten oder gereicht dir zur Sünde!

482. *tfuy'*!, originating in *täff*, *taffa*, 'to spit, to say "phew"'. This is uttered in disgust, accompanied by the 'proper' ejection of spittle, at which the Arab says: *tfu 'alēk!*, '“phew” on you!' The Yiddish usage is listed by Harkavy, 243/a: *טפּו tfu*.

BW, 303: [spucke]n bazzaq, täff; *ibid.*, 246: pfui (über dich)! ihs od[er] ihse! tfu 'alēk! — Cf. *ekhs alek*, No. 52.

483. *džhe'nem!* = ḡahannam, 'hell.' A specific remark in Jerusalem was \* *gey ken džehenem!*, literally 'go to Gehenna!', namely 'go to hell!'.

Gehinnom, Gehenna, is connected with Biblical גֵּיאַ בְּנֵי-הַנֶּחֱם (Joshua 15 : 8, and especially Jeremiah 7 : 31 ff.), a valley

south-west of Jerusalem where the Semitic deity Moloch was worshipped with human sacrifices, especially of first-born children; hence place of punishment of the wicked in the hereafter, hell, the opposite of *Gan Eden*, paradise.

As pointed out above (Cf. explanatory notes to No. 57 in Vocabulary), many abusive expressions and curses were taken over by the Ashkenazim from Arabic; and *džehenem* is a good instance of the principle that what is strange is more effective.

For the semantic development of *Gehinnom* in European languages, including among other meanings the French verb *gêner*, 'to molest,' Cf. Lokotsch, 705.

Some interjections of an endearing nature are:

484. *adži'be!* = 'ağibe, 'āğībah, 'wonder, marvel,' but here used rather adjectively: 'amazing, remarkable.' Thus, reacting to a story, or some event that has occurred, one may say: \* dos iz an *adžibe!*, 'this is remarkable!'

485. *ba'rake!* = ~, 'blessing!' is an enthusiastic exclamation by idlers and gossips for a beautiful girl who arouses their admiration.

In addition to this expression of affection, *barake* among Arabs is used as a simple blessing, as noted by BW, 289: Gott gebe sein [Segen] dazu allāh jihuṭṭ fih-l-barake.

For another usage of *barake*, see No. 147.

486. *afa'rem! afa'rem ale'k!* = Turkish '*afārim*, 'bravo!' and Arabic '*alēk*, 'to you' (literary Arabic *āfirīn*, 'bravo! well done!,' while Lokotsch, 23, notes originally Persian *āfirīn*).

This interjection is used in the meaning of the Hebrew good wish יִשְׁר כּוֹחַ! 'congratulations! (liter. may your strength be firm)', and both *bravo* and *afarem* are uttered together.

BW, 70: bravo! 'afāk (er hat dir Gesundheit verliehen)! a[uch] 'afārim (türkisch)!

## II. Abusive Words

To the abusive words of Arabic and Turkish origin mentioned in the Vocabulary (Nos. 58-74), the following are to be added:

487. *džo'kha*. This is one of a group of words expressing foolishness or characterizing fools, used for a simpleton and naïve person. It is related to Ġoḥa, or Ġuḥa, a similar person in the folklore of the Arabs about whose naïveté many witticisms and jocular stories are told (Cf. Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, I, Nos. 551, 598-600; II, No. 1561). Of such a person it is said \* er iz a *džokha*, 'he is a dž.' — For its derivatives in European languages, see Lokotsch, No. 739.

488. *džahl* — a young man whose actions are unrestrained, or one who is irresponsible. It is the Arabic abstract noun *ğahl*, 'foolishness, ignorance,' instead of the adjectival noun *ğāhil*, 'fool, ignorant person, unrestrained (in his behavior or thinking).' — BW, 347: [Un]wissend(er) *ğāhil*: *ğuhhāl*; [Un]wissenheit *ğahl*.

489. *kha'sab* — *ḥašab*, 'wood,' especially for construction (Cf. BW, 171: [Werk]holz *ḥašab*). However, in the phrase \* a *štik holc*, a *khašab*, 'a lump of wood, a *kh.*', a foolish, inflexible person is meant.

Sometimes, foolishness, or other negative qualities, are referred to animals, mainly domestic. Such expressions, for instance, are:

490. *dža'khiš* = *ğahš*, *ğahš*, 'young donkey,' concerning which the usage is \* der *džakhiš*, and in diminutive \* a *džakhišl* (especially about a child). However, \* *zay nit kin* [kayn] *džakhiš!*, 'don't be a [young] donkey!', simply means: 'don't be a fool!'

491. *khmar* = *ḥmār*, *ḥimār*, 'donkey.' This is stronger than the preceding term, and is heard frequently. It designates one's stubbornness, the main characteristic of this domestic animal, or the stupidity that is ascribed to it. The Hebrew equivalent חמור, *ḥamōr*, may also serve as an adequate substitute.

It is also heard, seriously or in jest, with the vocative *ya khmar!* = *yā ḥmār*, 'O, [you] donkey!'.  
 To the Hebrew usage, חמורטשיק = *ḥamōr* plus the Slavic suffix *-čik*, in itself an endearing diminutive, is to be added.

492. Stronger still, and more effective, is the abusive reproach *ikhma'r ibn ikhma'r* = *iḥmār ibn iḥmār*, 'donkey, son of a donkey.'

493. Similar in form and in emphasis is *kalb iben el kalb* = ~, 'dog, the son of a dog,' while the Hebrew-Arabic is הוא כלב אמיתי = *hū kalb amittī*, 'he is a real [some] dog!'.  
 493. Of a shrewd fellow it is said, he is a *bandu'k* = *bandūq*, 'illegitimate child, bastard.' Concerning such a one, the pejorative is triplicated in Yiddish-Hebrew-Arabic:

\* *er iz a ממור בן הנדה a banduk!*, 'he is a bastard, born of copulation during his mother's uncleanness (liter. 'the son of a woman in the period of menstruation').

BW, 45: Bastard *bandūq*: *banādīq*; *ibn* (: *ulad*) *ḥarām*, the latter being 'son of a sin').

The Hebrew ממור originates apparently in the root זר, 'rejected, outcast.'

In addition to 'a shrewd fellow,' the semantic application of ממור in Yiddish is expressed in numerous usages, as listed by Harkavy, 305/b-306/a:

accusation of being a bastard; false accusation.	ממור-בלבול
cunning blade, sharper, swindler.	ממורק
female bastard; cunning woman.	ממורטע
roguish trick; betrayal (fig.)	ממורי
to betray.	ממורן
of bastard; cunning, shrewd.	adj. ממורש.
roguish trick.	ממורשטיקל

Of the less abusive words which still carry the intended message, the following are to be noted:

494. *kaza'b* = *kāzzāb*, 'liar' (Hebrew כוזב *kazva'n*; Yiddish *ka'zven*). It is also used endearingly, or in half jest.

495. *kasla'n* = *kāslān*, 'lazy man, sluggard,' concerning which the saying is \* *r'iz* [er iz] a foyler, a *kaslan*, with the

Arabic being a repetition of the Yiddish vocable with the same meaning.

496. *surma'ye* = *šurmāye*, literally 'shoe', but with an interesting semantic development. The Yiddish equivalent for same is *pantofl*, 'slipper,' which is also a euphemism for 'weakling, feeble person,' especially a man, or rather a husband, vis-à-vis his wife. Such a husband is called פאַנטאָפּל מאַן, *pantofl-man* (Harkavy, 359/b), of whom it might be said *er iz a pantofl*, or *er iz unter dem vaybs pantofl*, i.e. 'he [the husband] is a weakling, a henpecked husband' (liter. 'he is under his wife's shoe'). In Palestinian Yiddish, the Arabic vocable takes the place of the Yiddish one, and a similar phrase is \**er iz a surmaye* (or: ...a *štik surmaye* = ...some piece of a...) with the same meaning.

BW, 306, lists a different idiom of the same meaning: *er steht unter dem Pantoffel il-mara rākibta* (die Frau reited ihn).

Cf. *khmaye takht surmaye*, No. 222.

### III. Words Expressing Quality, Social Standing, Condition, Physical Appearance

Some words expressing quality of behavior are connected with various Arabic names for *Devil*. It is noteworthy that together with *al-qadr*, the belief in *God's decision*, and his fear for Allah, the Muslim also believes in and fears the Devil, who is known to him by numerous, direct and indirect, names. Some of these, with few changes in their original meaning, entered the vocabulary of Ashkenazic Jews:

497. *šita'n* = *šitān*, *aš-šaytān* [Biblical Hebrew *satan*, whence Yiddish *sotn*], 'Satan' [originating in Biblical Greek *satanas*], liter. 'adversary', Devil. It is only used metaphorically for one who is considered industrious as well as mischievous, but not evil. This is rather due to the Yiddish euphemistic usage of *שד*, *šed*, another name for a devil, and the phrase *er iz a šed* (mostly concerning a child and his behavior), simply means 'he is mischievous.'

498. Similar to the preceding in meaning and usage is *gird* = qird, 'devil,' which in Arabic is employed rather as a word of abuse, as in a phrase like \* er iz a *ša'ter*, a *gird*!, 'he is clever, [he is] a devil!'.  
*ša'ter* = šāṭir — See No. 90. To it, Cf. BW, 320: [Teufel]skerl, tüchtiger Mensch, šāṭir; BW, *ibid.*: Teufel... dich soll der ~ holen! jā qird! od[er] el-qird jištālak!.

499. Another expression, in the same vein, is *afrīt* = 'afrīt, 'a devil,' — for one with a keen mind, surprising by his actions, concerning whom might be said \* er iz an *afrīt*, 'he is a devil.'

BW, 76: Dämon gross mārīd; 'afrīt: 'afārīt; *ibid.*, 302: [Spitz]bube... 'afrīt (Schelm).

500. Similar to *dže'da* (No. 89) and *ša'ter* (No. 90) is *gabaday*, a word of Turkish origin, designating one who boasts of his prowess and accomplishments. When one says \* er iz a gancer *gabaday*, 'he is some hero,' it is close to the ironical Yiddish phrase *eykh mir a gi'ber* [Heb. גבויר]! 'a pretty specimen of a hero!'.  
 See also: *beladi*, No. 79; *džabaler*, No. 557; *khišen*, No. 619; *madeni*, No. 556.

The following relate to social standing:

501. *zanki'l*, *zangi'l* = Turkish zankıl, 'a very rich man,' as listed also by BW, 49: begüttert, zänkıl (turk.) Of such a person, the saying is: \* r iz a *zangil*, 'he is very rich.'

502. The social opposite is *khada'm* (-e, pl. -es) = ḥaddām (fem. ḥaddāme), 'servant.' In refusing a request to perform something, one may say, for instance: \* vos bin ikh dir? dayn *khadam*?, 'what am I (to you)? your servant?'.  
 503. An addition to the usages expressing one's social standard, is *kalepi'rnik*, characterizing a "cheap" person, one not highly regarded, whose habits are objectionable to neighbors. Such a one, for instance, will hold back whenever a contribution of money is needed in the community.

It is Turkish *kelepir* = bought at a cheap price (*Lo-kotsch*, 1156) + the Slavic suffix *-nik*.

Some words describing condition are:

504. *bizya'de* = *bizyāde*, *bialziyāda*, 'too much, more than enough,' as in the phrases:

- \* *kh'ob'es* [*ikh hob es*] *bizyade!*, 'I have it...'
- \* *er't* [*er hot*] *gekhaps klep, bizyade!*, 'he got a beating alright!'
- \* *er'tsakh* [*er hot zikh*] *ongegesn sabres, bizyade!*, 'he ate cactus figs greedily!' (metaphorically, of one who talks too much). — *sabre* — See. No. 343.

BW, 403: zu sehr bi-zjāde; Bauer, 94: bizjāde, aktar mnillāzim zu sehr, zu viel.

505. *dža'kha* = *ğahḥa*, 'haughtiness, conceit.' Of one in such a state of mind and behavior, the saying is: \* *di dżakha zayne iz groys*, 'he is very haughty.'

BW, 310: Stolz kibria, *ğahḥa*, *kabra*, *fahr*; sich ~ *ge-bärden ğahḥ*.

506. *babu'r* = *bābūr*, *bābōr* (corruption of French *vapor*, *vapeur*), 'steamship, steamer.' It is, however, used only in the Arab manner, in allusion to a corpulent woman of whom the Arab would say: *hiya zey el-bābūr*, 'she is like a steamship.' In Yiddish the phrase is: \* *zi iz greys vi a babur* (oder: *vi a polner babur*), 'she is as big as a steamship (or: as a full steamship)', with *polner* being Russian *polniy*, 'full,' plus the Yiddish masculine adjectival suffix *-er*.

BW, 274: Schiff *bābōr*, auch *wabōr* (frz.): *bawābīr*.

507. An exceptionally corpulent woman is called *babu'r khide'vi* = *bābūr hidewī*, 'a Khedivial steamship,' the latter being an adjective of Turkish *hīdīv*, Khedive, the title from 1867 to 1914 of Turkish viceroys in Egypt.

Arabs used to take pride in Egypt, in its Khedive and also in the Khedivial steamship line, which plied the Mediterranean. Its ships also called at Palestinian ports once in two weeks.

*Khediv* originates in Persian *hudā*, 'God,' while the deminutive *hudaiv*, 'little God,' subsequently yielded colloquial *hediv* (Cf. Lokotsch, 876).

Concerning physical appearance, and physical defects in particular, the following is noteworthy:

Arabs greatly dislike anyone with a physical defect, especially those born with it or who became maimed as a result of childhood sickness. They believe that cripples were so born by the will of Allah, and therefore no pity need be shown to them. They may even be humiliated. Exception is made for those maimed in war between Bedouin tribes, and for the blind, especially those whose eyesight is affected by old age. Most of the muezzins, the Mohammedan criers of the hour of prayer, are blind. Rich Arabs used to send their blind sons to study at al-Azhar, the Muslim religious academy in Cairo.

Ashkenazim took over from the Arabs the names for, but not the attitude toward, cripples and others with bodily afflictions. For physical defects, urban Ashkenazim, both young and old, occasionally used Arabic words, while in the "*colonies*," the youth employed both Hebrew and Yiddish, followed by a translation into Arabic. These expressions were used even in the presence of the afflicted person, and also as terms of abuse, though never towards girls or women.

The following physical defects, or outstanding features, are known by their Arabic terms, which usually appear in the af'al form (mostly depicting colors):

508. *a'traš* (with the usage \* *der atraš*) = *aṭraš*, deaf, hard of hearing.'

509. *a'ma* = *a'ma*, (liter. 'blind'), 'shortsighted.'

510. *a'radž* = *a'rağ*, 'a limping person, lame.'

511. *a'bras* = *abraş*, 'freckled,' a nickname for a fair or red-haired man, as in the saying \* *an abras*, a *geler*, a *reyter*, 'a freckled one, a fair-haired, a red-haired.'

512. *abu' ra'gabe*, a nickname for 'hunchback' which seems to be a euphemism of Arabic *abū rakuba*, liter. 'father of a female camel,' which naturally has a hump; while the Arabic word for hunchback is *ḥadbe* (literary *aḥḍab*, *ḥadib*) or *ḥurdabbe*.



In connection with physical defects, and perhaps with the preceding one, I was told by my informant, Mr. Nahmani:

"Alexander Harkavy [he used the spelling האַרקאַווי], the Yiddish lexicographer, told us that, in his opinion, the surname *Harkavy* is not of Hebrew origin [spelled הרפבי]. For, in an old Polish dictionary he found the meaning of it to be 'hunchback'; and verily, his grandmother had this physical defect."

513. A different connotation altogether is contained in the adjective *tavi'l* = *ṭawīl*, 'tall, long.' Thus a certain man well-known in Jerusalem was nicknamed, because of his height and long legs, '*Kha'yim* [Heb. חיים, 'life'] der langer,' or '*Kha'yim* der *tavi'l*,' or metaphorically, in Hebrew חיים ארוכים '*Ḥay'im aru'kim*,' an allusion to the words חיים ארוכים ותתן לנו חיים, 'Thou shall grant us long life,' included in the New Moon benediction recited on the Sabbath preceding *Rosh Hodesh*.

514. Another nickname for a tall man is *sina'de*, liter. 'support, little pole,' concerning which — See No. 438.

See also *a'bu ki'rše*, No. 584; *khi'sen*, No. 619.

#### IV. Miscellaneous Expressions

As pointed out above (p. 162), this group includes numerous expressions and usages of general character. To those already mentioned, the following vocables are to be added:

515. *ki'lme* = ~, 'word,' is an affirmation meaning 'upon my word!', as in confirming an event, or the price in a transaction. Cf. *vakhad kilme!*, No. 145.

516. A usage showing displeasure with an unexpected caller too early in the morning before one is ready to start his day's work, or generally expressing dissatisfaction with an ill-timed argument, is *a'la su'bakh* = علی صبح 'ala ṣubeḥ = in the morning. — Cf. *saba'khl-kher*, No. 10.

517. *muza'n* = *mizān*, 'balance, scales,' especially in relation to an Arab vendor weighing his wares. However, among young people and older farmers it is used as the astronomical term of Libra, the southern zodiacal constellation by which they determined the time. They would say \*s'iz šeyn špet,

der *muzan* iz fargangen (aroy's), 'it is late already, the *m.* has disappeared (appeared).'

BW, 374: Wage a[uch] Sternbild *mizān*.

518. *khazara'ne* = *hēzarān*, *haizurān*, 'bamboo stick,' made of the hollow stem of the bamboo tree. In Palestine it is made of solid, not hollow, flexible reed canes. Such a stick was used by policemen and horsemen, and generally by men who wished to make an impression.

The Yiddish יאמטשיק, יאמטשעק (yam-štekn, yamtšik) were also known, but the Arabic term was the usual.

BW, 43: Bambusrohr *hēzarān* (eig. span[isch] Rohr), sonst 'ūd il-qana; *ibid.*, 262: Flecht[rohr], span[isch] *hēzarān*.

519. An evasive answer to the question "Where are you going?", is *miša'n ha'ua* = من شان هوا min šān (or mišān) hawā' = for the sake of [breathing fresh] air. It is also used in its original meaning of 'taking a walk', as in the phrase \* *lomir geyn miša'n ha'ua*, 'Let us take a walk'.

520. *ta'ri* = *ṭarī*, 'fresh, tender, soft,' used by boys for a girl with these qualities, attesting to her 'fresh' appearance. The exclamation is: 'oho! *tari!*'

BW, 381: weich leijin, *ṭari*: *ṭarāja*.

521. *hade'ye* = *hadīye*, *hadīya*, 'gift, present'. Also used by Jewish youth in the 'colonies', with the meaning of 'dowry' instead of the Hebrew נדון (Yiddish enunciation *nada'n*, or *na'dn*).

BW, 143: Geschenk *baḥšiš*, *hadijje* : *hadāja*.

522. *mekha'sam*, *makhsu'm* = said of one suffering from acute constipation as a result of eating too much of the fruit of the *sa'bre* (see No. 343). The constipation is caused by the many small seeds with which this cactus fruit is filled. In this connection it is to be noted that Arab villagers used to engage in a contest of eating the cactus fruit, preparing in advance acacia spits for the purpose of opening the anum.

The Arabic vocable is perhaps connected with *ḥasam*, 'closing,' and one so affected is *maḥsum*.

523. One suffering from constipation takes *zeyt kha'rve* = *zēt ḥarwa'*, *zēt al-ḥirwa'*, 'castor oil,' as a remedy.

It is also used in the sense of idle words, as in \* er hot ayngenumen a porcye *zeyt kharve*, 'he took a portion of castor oil,' and is, consequently, talking nonsense.

BW, 262: [Rizinus]öl *zēt ḥarwa'*.

524. *khama'm* = *ḥammām*, 'bath,' Turkish bath, still known in Yiddish as טערקישע באד (terkiše bod).

A detailed description of a Turkish bath in Jerusalem in the eighties of the 19th century, is to be found in Itta Yellin's reminiscences ל צאצאי (To My Offspring), Part II, pp. 18—20. She mentions four such steam-baths in the Old City: *hamam al batraq*, *ḥammām el-'eyn* (Bath of the Well), *ḥammām el-šifa* (Bath of Health), and *ḥammām sittī maryam* (Bath of Lady Mary). In each of these there was a *miqva*, a pool for ritual ablution for Jewish women, under the supervision of a Sephardic woman.

525. *tari'k sulta'n* = *ṭarīq sultān(e)*, 'public road' built by the government, akin to Biblical דרך המלך, 'the king's highway' (Numbers 20 : 17). In Hebrew documents of the time it is translated as הדרך של השולטאן as in the builder's contract, p. 238, line 7:

בכותל צפון של צד הדרך של השולטאן יהיה שני חלונות...

A phrase concerning it, is \* er zogt er meg durkhgeyn; *s'iz tarik sultan*, 'he says he may pass through; it [the road] is t. s.'

526. Arabs have coined nicknames for Europeans, based mainly on the latter's appearance which caught the Arabs' eye. One of these nicknames is *la'bes banta'lon* = ~, 'one wearing pantalons, trousers.' However, in Palestinian Yiddish it assumed a connotation of mockery, as in the phrase \* do geyt er, der *labes bantalon!*, 'here he goes, the one wearing pantalons,' namely, 'the hero.' This is the opposite of the Yiddish expression טראגן די הויזן (*trogn di hoyzn*), 'to wear the trousers,' concerning a woman of valor, or one performing a man's work.

For the etymology of *bantalon*, see No. 410; cf. also the saying *šiknazi bel-elbas*, No. 233, note 144.

527. Another nickname for a European or a Jew wearing glasses adopted in Palestinian Yiddish, was *abu' el-nadara't* =

abū el-nazzārāt, (liter. 'father of looking glasses.'), 'one wearing glasses.'

528. A phrase reminiscent of Turkish restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine before World War One, is *a'na min hon* = ~... hōn, liter. 'I am from here!', i.e. 'a native or inhabitant of this country.' By shouting this phrase before their landing, in the presence of Turkish officials, indicating he was absent only temporarily, a Jew sometimes succeeded in entering the country. Needless to say, a bakhshish added to its effectiveness.

This phrase was used sometimes ironically about the 'founding fathers' of some 'colonies' who had entered Palestine despite the restrictions.

To the proverbial sayings, No. 158-163, the following are to be added:

529. *el-a'džal min ašeyta'n* = al (el) 'ağal min aš-šeitān, 'haste is [the work] of the Devil.' In this form, it was a well-known Arabic proverb among Jews in Palestine.

Yahuda, I, No. 959, notes this proverb as follows: il 'ağale min iššitān walṭānni min ar-ruḥmān, 'haste is of the Devil, and patience is of the Merciful One.'

530. *tar el-ter, a'lla yisa'bkhak bilke'r* = tar el-tēr, Allāh yiṣabḥak bilḥer, 'the bird flew away, may Allah give you a happy morning' — an imitation of the ending of a story told by Arabs. In the Jewish 'colonies' it was used at the end of any tale.

The Yiddish equivalent for the conclusion of a folk tale is: *a flekele arayn, a flekele aroys, di mayse* [Heb. מעשה] *iz oys!*, 'a little peg is in, a little peg is out, the story is finished!'

## V. Administrative Terms

To the various categories of land and the related laws mentioned above (pp. 178-179), the following are to be added:

531. *dži'ftlik* = Turkish çiftlik, Ar. ḡiftlik, 'government land' let to tenants; in the past, the property of the Ottoman

State or of the Sultan, or registered in his name. This last was done in order to secure the crops against depredation of the Bedouins, who would not dare touch State property. The owners became only tenants who paid the *ḥums* tax, a *fifth* of the crop.

532. In addition to *mawāt* and *matruka*, another category of *mīri* is land without ownership, or which is left uncultivated and therefore reverts to the government. This land is known as *makhlu'l* = *maḥlūl*, liter. 'untied, free, at large.'

Of government civil officials the following were known by their Arabic titles:

533. *ka'teb* = *kātib*, 'secretary,' usually one who, for a fee, writes petitions and complaints to the Courts at the request of litigants or other interested parties.

Cf. *kateb el-adel*, No. 181; *baš-kateb*, No. 182.

534. *mamu'r* = *māmūr*, 'official,' employed here, however, in the meaning of 'supervisor, director.' Of these, the *mamu'r el-džara'd* = *māmūr el-ğarād*, 'supervisor [over actions] against locust,' was well known in the Jewish 'colonies.' In Rehovoth, the late Aaron Ahronson held this post, and people said \* Arnson iz *mamur el-džarad*. Avshalom Feinberg, a member of the famous Nili intelligence group, was his assistant.

BW, 45: Beamte(r) *māmūr* [ma'mūr]: -in, ma'āmīr.

535. Apart from the 'City inspector of sanitation,' the meaning given for *imfetiš* (cf. No. 169), was the *mufa'teš* (another enunciation of this vocable) = *mufättiš*. In the 'colonies,' this official was known as legal investigator, especially of violent quarrels between Jews and Arabs. When people said \* der *mufateš* iz do, 'the m. is here,' it meant he came to investigate an outbreak. During his stay, which might last a week or two, he resided at a hotel at the expense of the settlement.

536. *mua'raf* = (el-)ma'āref, Minister (also: inspector) of education; an officer very active in Jerusalem, especially following the revolt of the Young Turks in 1908. Prior to it,

the Turkish Government used to appoint a new Minister each year.

537. Of Arabic-Turkish origin is *musta'ndži* = *mustanği*, 'attorney general,' concerning whom a phrase was \* *s'iz šeyn ba dem mustandži* in hant, 'it [the case] is already in the hands of the m.'

Numerous names of officials and ranks are connected with the police and the military. The names are mostly Turkish, but taken over by the Jews from the Arabs. Such are:

538. *za'bet* = *zābiṭ*, liter. *ḏābiṭ*, 'police officer,' as such known all over Palestine.

BW, 239: Offizier F[ellachisch] *zābiṭ*: *zubbāt*.

539. *tu'bdži* = Turkish *ṭūbağī*, *ṭobği*, 'artillerist,' heard especially during World War One.

BW, 26: Artiller-ie *ṭobğijje*, a[uch] *madfa'ijje*; -ist *ṭobği*.

540. *amirelay* = *mīr 'alāi*, *amīr alāy*, 'colonel,' but in Palestine also with the meaning of the high commanding officer of a large district.

BW, 237: Oberst, mil[itärisch] *mīr alāi*.

541. *bin ba'si* = Turkish *binbāši* (*biñ* 'thousand,' *bāš* 'head, chief,' i.e. 'chief of a thousand men'), 'major.' Cf. Lokotsch, 307.

BW, 212: Major *bimbāši*.

542. *yuz ba'sa* = Turkish *yuz bāši* (*yüz* 'thousand'), 'captain.'

BW, 161: Hauptmann *juzbāši*.

543. *on ba'si* = Turkish *onbāši* (*on* 'ten'), 'corporal.'

BW, 345: [Unter]offizier *šāwīš*, *onbāši* (pers., türk., etwa Gefreiter, wö[rterlich] Haupt über ,10 Köpfe').

544. Over all the preceding military ranks was the *ga'zi* = *ghāzī*, 'warrior,' originally one who carries out a 'military expedition,' a 'razzia' = Ar. *ghazū*, (hence *al ghāzī* was one of the titles of the Turkish Sultans). As such was known the Turkish commander against the Druzes in Palestine, and when

he arrived people would state \* s'iz gekumen der *gazi*, 'the g. has arrived.' — Cf. Lokotsch, 701.

Of military services, the following are to be mentioned:

545. *askari'ye* = 'askariye, -a, 'military service' to which every Ottoman male citizen was subject. A phrase was \* er dint *askariye* baym terkale (diminutive of *terk*, 'Turk'), 'he is doing military service with the Turk.'

Cf. *askar*, No. 166; *bedel askariye*, No. 216.

BW, 219: [Militär]dienst il-'askarijje.

546. *redi'f* = *radif*, 'reserve' in the army of the Ottoman Empire, which had to wage wars or crush revolts against its autocratic rule.

"We heard this word since childhood," my informant notes, "and others heard it perhaps a hundred and fifty years before me." Remarks concerning it were:

\* vu iz khami's? — er iz avek af *redif*, 'where is *hamis*? [the question was asked concerning an Arab laborer by this name, and the answer was] — he went into the reserves.'

\*me hot em genumen af *redif*, 'he was taken into the reserves.'

BW, 260: Reserve(truppen) er-radif.

547. *amaley'e*, *amali'ye* = 'amaliya, literally 'work, job,' but here used with the meaning of 'military operation.' This was forced labor (cf. *sukhara*, No. 218) with the Turkish army during World War One, in which Jewish men were taken for making roads, laying railway tracks, cutting wood for the locomotives, and the like.

BW, 25: eine bestimmte [Arbeit] als Einheit... 'amle.

Some administrative terms for institutions are:

548. *ma'džla(e)se* = *mağlis*, 'a meeting, gathering' of important private persons or government officials and functionaries of a town or a country.

In Arabic, *mağlis* is of masculine gender while in Yiddish it is feminine, perhaps under the influence of Hebrew מסיפה and the later Yiddish *zicung*, both meaning 'meeting, gathering.'

Cf. *maġlis 'idāra*, No. 226.

BW, 296: Ort der [Sitzung] máġlis: maġālis; *ibid.*, 360: [Ver]sammlung einberufen 'aqad, iġtimā' od[er] maġlis.

549. *beledi'ye-špital*, 'government hospital,' a combination of Arabic *belediye* (cf. No. 212, with a different meaning), 'City administration' and Yiddish *špital*, 'hospital.'

BW, 195, lists: Krankenhaus sbītār [Ar. for hospital] il-bälādijje.

550. *khaps [khabs] el-raba't* = ḥabs al-rabāt, liter. 'prison of the fetters' in which convicts sentenced for life were shackled, put in chains (in Yiddish: געשמידט אין קייטן, 'gešmidt in keytn). One of these prisons was situated in the Old City of Jerusalem, surrounded by the Jewish quarter, where people could see the prisoners marching round the prison yard.

Concerning such a prison is \* *vu iz er yect*, in *khaps el-dam?* — neyn, s'i[es iz] nokh mit khesed [Heb. חסד, 'benevolence']; *er iz in khaps el-rabat*, 'where is he now? in kh. e.d.? — no, it is endurable; he is in kh. e. r.'

Cf. *khabsi dam*, No. 209.

551. Far worse for such convicts was *der lima'n* = lumān (originating in Greek *limēn*), liter. 'galleys, penal servitude,' colloquial Ar. 'prison.' This was the infamous prison in the fortress of Acre (Heb. 'Akko), at the northwest end of the Bay of Acre (which Napoleon failed to conquer).

BW, 403: Zuchthaus ḥabs, lumān od[er] ašghāl šaqqa (schwierige Arbeiten).

To the taxes and contributions imposed on the populace in Palestine by the Turkish Government, mentioned above, Nos. 214-219, the following are to be added:

552. *ba'del* = badal, liter. 'instead of,' which is another term for *bedel askeriye* (cf. No. 216), ransom in place of military service.

553. *dakhu'li* = duḥūliye, 'octroi, a local tax on commodities,' especially food, imported from abroad — known mostly in the port cities of Palestine.



554. *ušur* = 'ušr, 'tithe', a tax on fruit and produce which actually was more than one-tenth (approximately 12½ per cent), collected by the gendarmes. In this connection: \* *di khaya'les zaynen gekumen nemen ušur*, 'the gendarmes came to collect the u.' — *khayales*, pl. of *khayal* (see No. 165).

555. In addition to *ra'smedik* (No. 225), the adjective *ra'smi* = ~, 'official, officially,' was also heard. It became popular with the *hurriye* (cf. No. 216) when Sultan 'Abdül Hamid II was deposed in 1909 and Muḥammad V ascended the throne. That was a turbulent time, with many rumors of impending political events, wars, mobilizations and decrees of expulsion. It was used when people hesitating to believe any of the rumors became convinced of them by someone declaring \* *s'iz emes* [Heb. אמר, 'true'], *s'iz šeyn rasmi*, 'it is true, it is already official.'

## VI. *Neighbors of the Ashkenazim*

### *Expressions Concerning Arabs*

The material in this sub-chapter concerns mainly Muslim Arabs, both village and urban, with whom the Jewish settlers in the 'colonies' came into daily contact. Muslim Arab constituted the majority among the Arabs in Palestine, the remainder being Christian Arabs of various denominations and groups. According to the census of 1922, the Muslims formed 77.8% of the population (589,000 out of 757,000), while in the 1931 census their percentage fell to 73.4 (760,000 out of 1,036,000).

Of the Fellahin, in the 1922 census, 76.5% were Muslims and 24.6% Christians; and in the 1931 census 75.2% and 24.2% respectively (These figures quoted by A. J. Braver in his *ספר בדיקת הארץ / ארץ ישראל* (Tel Aviv, 1951), pp. 267, 264, on the basis of the official censuses).

While no trustworthy data are available for the period prior to these two censuses, we may assume that the composition of the Arab population was essentially the same. It was with this populace that Jewish settlers met in their daily

life and became closely acquainted with, as reflected in the following vocables.

556. Generally descriptive of his social status, a city dweller was known as a *ma'deni*=~, *mädäni*, 'urban, civilized, refined, polished.' In contrast is *fellāh*, in Palestinian Yiddish: *plakh*, *plakhiše kop* as well as *fallakh* (see Nos. 243, 244). — BW, 74: Bürger, Stadtbewohner *mädän|i*: -ijje; ḥaḍari: ḥaḍar.

557. Similar to the latter in some respect is *dža'bali*, also *dža'bal* = ḡabali, 'highlander,' especially an Arab living in the mountain areas of Hebron and Jerusalem. It is also used for a naïve, inexperienced person, concerning whom the phrase was \* er iz a *džabali*, 'he is a d.,' or \* er re'tokh [redt dokh] vi a *džabali*, 'he speaks like a d.'

Migrations from neighboring countries into Palestine brought into use words by which particular persons or groups were designated. For instance:

558. a *ša'mer*, or a *ša'mi*, 'Damascene,' a native, Jew or non-Jew, of Damascus = eš-šām.

559. *masri'ye*, *masriyi'n* = *mašriya*, *mašriyīn*, 'Egyptians' — in the 'colonies' and Arab villages, used for the Fellāhin and Bedouins who migrated from Egypt to Palestine, as well as for descendants of the soldiers settled there by Ibrahim Pasha, Egyptian general and viceroy (1789-1848) and other Egyptian military authorities. Among Arabs, as well as Jews, they were known as *mašriya*, or *mašriyīn*. Jews never said *mi'crim*, or *egiptya'ner*, but \* er iz fun di *masriye*, 'he is of the m.'

560. Another group was *mehadžeri'n* = *muhāḡirīn*, 'emigrants,' usually those expelled or removed from their native land. Such, for instance, are the Cherkess, a Muslim tribe from the Caucasus, who migrated to Palestine because of Czarist oppression, especially after the Berlin Congress of 1878.

During World War One, Jews expelled by the Turkish authorities from Gaza, Tel Aviv and Jaffa were also called *mehadžerin*.

The Muslim Arabs, as mentioned above, were the largest non-Jewish group of neighbors with whom Ashkenazim in both the cities and the 'colonies' came into daily contact. Out of these contacts came also familiarity with Muslim religious practices and customs, and thus the Yiddish vocabulary was enriched with numerous words from the religious side of their Arab neighbors.

Thus, Muslim Arabs in Palestine, particularly the Fellahin, have many traditions about 'prophets,' *anbiya* (pl. of *nābi*, 'saints,' *awliyā* (pl. of *waliy*) and 'holy tombs,' *muqām* (pl. of *maqām*) to whom homage is paid in pilgrimage to the *mazārāt* (pl. of *mazār*, 'place of pilgrimage'). These pilgrimages take place at various times in numerous localities, and Jews of the vicinity were familiar with them and their names. Thus, in addition to *nebi musa* (see No. 258), pilgrimages in connection with the following 'prophets' were known among Jews in Palestine:

561. *ne'bi sa'lekh* = *nābi ṣaleḥ*, a festival with large meeting of Arab villagers in the vicinity of Ramle in the Spring, before the harvest season. His tomb is known by the *ḡami' el abyāḍ*, 'the white Mosque,' erected over it.

562. *ne'bi rubi'n*, a place of pilgrimage to the tomb of the 'Prophet Reuben,' the son of Jacob, not far from the seashore where the *wādī Rubīn* (in Hebrew נחל שורק) falls into the Mediterranean. Fellahin and Bedouins gather there with their families after the harvest season to spend a month in various festivities, *fantazias*, horse races and sports.

The following other feast periods are known:

563. The month of fasting, *Ramaḍān* (see No. 259), is concluded by *id al-fitr* = 'id al-fitr, the three festival days of 'breaking' the fasting. These days are spent visiting friends as well as the tombs of relatives, on which occasion *ṣadaqa*, 'donations, charity' are distributed to the poor.

564. *bayra'm*, or *id al-bayra'm* = Turkish *bairām*, *qurbān bairām*, 'feast of the (Arabic 'id al-) sacrifice,' known also by Muslims as 'id al-aḍḥa, with the same meaning, or Greater Bairam. It occurs two months after *Ramaḍān*, on the 10th

of the month *zū'lhīgga*, in connection with the sacrifices made by the pilgrims to Mecca. — Cf. Lokotsch, 183.

565. Another name for the preceding one is *id al-korba'n* = 'id *alqurbān*, celebrated in 'grand style' by slaughtering of lambs for the family to commemorate the alleged sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac) by Abraham. Concerning these festivities, at which large quantities of food and meat are consumed, the saying is \*er *fres'cakh* [*frest zikh*] on; *haynt i'dokh* [*iz dokh*] *id alkurban*, 'he eats greedily; today is i. alk.'

With Christian Arabs, 'id *alqurbān* is Corpus Christi, observed on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

566. In connection with Ramaḍān, mention is to be made of *ma'dfa* = *madfa*, *midfa*, 'cannon.', a word used by Jerusalem Jews during that month in the sentence \* *bald vet der madfa šisn*, 'in a short while the cannon will shoot.' It usually took place at sunset, and the sound of the old cannon was a sign for Believers to break their fast.

This was also the occasion for people to set their watches, as was also done by many Jerusalem Jews who preferred 'Arabic time' to the European. It is interesting to note that Ashkenazic women in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem used to count the hours during weekdays in the European manner, but on Fridays they did this *afn arabišn zeyger*, 'by the Arab watch.'

BW, 181: *Kanone mādfa*'; *ibid.*, 285: *Kanonen[schuss] darbet madfa*'.

Other words connected with the Muslim religion are:

567. *šeykh el-islām* = *šēḥ el-islām*, member of the Turkish Ministry for Islamic affairs. The affairs of other religions were administered by the *nāẓer el-maḍāhab wal-adiān*, 'Minister of Cults and Religions.'

568. *darviš* = *darwiš*, Persian *dārwēš*, 'beggar, poor man,' in Arabic *faqīr*; actually a member of the Islamic mystical *ṣūfī* sect, originating in Ar. *ṣūf*, 'wool,' from their coarse woolen outer garment. They are devoted to the 'love of Allah' which they attempt to achieve by external ecstasy, by uncontrollable bodily movements which lead on to the per-

formance of the *zīkr*, the Darwish dance, literally 'mentioning' the name of Allah repeatedly.

The Darwishes were a familiar sight in Arab villages where they were usually held in low esteem because of their ignorance in matters of Islamic religion, although there are some learned men among them.

In Palestinian Yiddish, *darviš* meant a somewhat queer person given to fanaticism or scandalous acts.

For *darviš* in European languages, see Lokotsch, 496.

569. *džihād* = ġihād, 'holy war' against the infidels undertaken as a religious duty. During World War One it was popularly used in connection with the war of Turkey, as an ally of Germany, against the allied armies of Britain, France and Czarist Russia.

570. *samavey'e* = samāwīye, apparently from Ar. sāma, 'to vie in glory with,' the name of a sect, or group, of fanatical Muslims, remembered now only by old people. They were known for their atrocities, the mere mention of their name being enough to frighten people. They were feared by Arabs and Jews alike.

In the life of the Arab, his family and his neighbors, quarrels were a common occurrence. Some of the related words are also part of Palestinian Yiddish:

571. *šama'ta* = šamāṭa, 'strife, quarrel,' while literary Arabic šamaṭa means 'to mix up things.'

BW, 194: [Krach] ... Streit šamāṭa; *ibid.*, 312: [Streit] vereinzelt šamāṭa.

572. *kha'rbate* = ḥarbata, 'disorder, confusion,' while literary Arabic has the verb ḥarbata, 'to throw into disorder, disarrange, confuse.' A phrase is \* si' geven a greyse *kharbate* in dorf, 'there was a great confusion in the village.'

BW, 191: [Konfus]ion haḍajān, taḥarbuṭ, ḥarbaṭa.

573. *to'se* = ṭōše, ṭawša, 'a serious quarrel,' a word, which like the preceding ones, is used only for dealings among the Arabs.

BW, 43: [Balg]erei *ḍarb*, *ṭōše*, *muqāṭale*; *ibid.*, 147: *Gezänk ṭōše*; 277: *schlichten Streit ašlah ṭōše*.

574. *sul'kha* = *ṣulḥ*, 'peace, conciliation,' also 'an agreement and conciliation between two litigating parties,' as for instance, between Bedouin tribes, or between Jews and Arabs. In such case it would be said \* *s'vet zayn sul'kha!*, 'there will be peace!' — See rhymed Arabic proverb concerning *eṣ-ṣulḥ*, No. 313.

BW, 126: *Friede(n) salām, ṣulḥ*; [Frieden]schluss 'akd *eṣ-ṣulḥ*.

Other words concerning the Arabs and used by their Ashkenazic neighbors are:

675. *rakha'l* = *raḥḥāl*, 'wanderer, traveler,' but actually 'vagabond.' Thus, my informant notes, Maḥmūd *raḥḥāl*, or *šeyḥ Maḥmūd*, of the *mašriyīn* (Cf. No. 559), was known at Rehovot. He used to disappear from the 'colony' for long intervals and on his return not utter a single word about his experiences or the places he visited during his absence.

576. *marbu't* = *marbūt*, 'tied up,' used here in the meaning of 'possessed,' of a man who had lost, temporarily or permanently, his potency. Arabs believe this is caused by a spell cast by an enemy secretly placing on a grave a note with an appropriate curse written on it. The news that one is so stricken spreads fast, the phrase used being in Arabic *hū(a) marbūt*, or in Yiddish \* *er iz marbut*, 'he is possessed.'

577. In addition to *khine* and *kukhle* (see No. 250), the colors used by Arab women to beautify themselves, *nī'le* = *nīl(e)*, 'indigo,' is to be mentioned (for its origin, cf. Lokotsch, 1568). While observing Arab women, the usual phrase is \* *zi'cakh [zi hot zikh] šeyn ongešmirt mit nīle*, 'she painted herself with n.'

For a different use of *nīle*, see No. 583.

578. *mada'fe* = *maḍāfe* (BW, 165: *Herberge*), 'a guest house,' or room set aside in an Arab village for overnight visitors. The room is also a meeting place for the villagers.

The *maḍāfe*, one of the important social institutions of the Arab village, is maintained by the whole community. It is

usually situated in a private house, maintained at the expense of the owner, or the house of the šeyḥ and muḥtār of the village.

Of Arabs bearing titles mentioned above, Nos. 251-255, the following are to be added:

579. *a'ga* = Turkish aga, 'the elder,' title of nobility, similar to *efendi* (No. 253). Only elderly Ashkenazim remember this word. — Cf. Lokotsch, 28.

580. *bek* = Turkish beg, also *bey*, 'Mister, Baron,' originally a Muslim feudal title of nobility in Turkey; also, governor of a district in the Turkish dominions, inferior to *baša*; a title of courtesy, abolished by law in 1934. — Cf. Lokotsch, 282.

In Palestinian Yiddish it was usually the title of the owner of a larger estate.

Bauer, 98: *jā afāndi* (*efendi*) an einem Beamten, *jā bēk* an e[inem] höheren Beamten.

## VII. *House, Kitchen and Utensils*

Only a few additional vocables are to be listed here:

581. *findža'n* = *fiṅṅān* (a word of Persian origin), a small and heavy 'cup' to pour brewed coffee in.

582. *gani'ye* = corruption of *qannīne*, 'bottle,' usually of green glass.

583. *ni'le* = *nīle*, a blue coloring added in washing linen, \* *me darf araynton nīle in di veš*, 'n. is to be put into the wash.'

In giving linen to be washed, an Arab might say *mā tkatrīš nīlto*, 'do not add too much blue [to the linen]'.

BW, 66: [Bläue] für Wäsche *nīle*. — For another use of *nīle*, see No. 577.

## VIII. *Food, Beverages, Vegetables, Fruit*

The following additional vocables for various staple foods among Jews and Arabs are once more a reflection of economic conditions in an underdeveloped country sustaining itself

mostly on agriculture. Daily diet consisted mainly of vegetables and fruit, with little meat, fish, milk products or other proteins.

Of the latter, the following are to be mentioned:

584. *ki'rše* = *kirš*, cow's stomach (in Yiddish, it is the Slavic *čepčikhe*, 'the second stomach of ruminant animals') about which the phrase \* *er est kirše*, 'he eats k.' would be used. Hence, a corpulent man is called *a'bu ki'rše*, liter. 'the father (i.e. owner) of a stomach.'

BW, 212: Tier[magen], a[uch] Lab[magen] *karš*.

585. *ba'kala* = *baqalā*, 'cod fish,' a very dry fish, the name originating in Spanish *bacalao*, and perhaps penetrated into Yiddish from Ladino. This fish is not a native of the Mediterranean and has to be imported.

BW, 310: [Stock]fisch Kabeljau *baqalā* (span[isch]).

586. *sa'mne* = ~, 'melted butter,' used by Arab villagers and Bedouins for pouring over rice and meat. Of such a feast, people used to say \* *me makht gance berg mit ruz un samne*, 'they prepare heaps of rice with s.'

BW, 74: ausgelassene, sog[enante] Kochbutter, oder [Butter]schmalz *sämne*.

Much use is also made of various grains and grits, such as:

587. *dža'riša*, -e = *griše*, *gāriš*, 'grits,' widely used food staple, which was not always available during World War One.

BW, 284: geschroteter Weizen, auch geschrotete Linsen *griše*.

588. A similar food is *fri'ke* = *frīke*, ears of wheat roasted while still green. It is a popular food, particularly with Fellahin during the spring season.

BW, 263: geröstete Körne v[on] halbreifen Ähren (Ruth 2, 14) *frīke*.

589. More important is *ruz* = *ruzz*, 'rice.' The Jewish 'kolonistn,' settlers, would say of the hospitality of the Arabs and the food offered by them \* *me hot derlangt berg mit ruz*, 'they served heaps of rice.'



See also *fafelete rayz*, No. 309.

The seeds of certain aromatic plants are used as spices for seasoning of food. Such are, for instance:

590. *za'ta* = *za'tir* (also *sa'tar*) *za'tar* (BW, 83 : Dosten) = thyme (*Origanum Maru*), an aromatic plant, the crushed seeds of which are used to add relish to seasoning, also instead of mustard in which to dip the so-called "*su'msum beygl'*", sesame-cracknels.

591. *khi'lbe* = *hilbe*, *hulba*, 'fenugreek' (*Trigonella fenumgraecum*). Of the pea family with aromatic seeds, *hilbe* soaked in water is used by the Fellahin for seasoning bread. It is also very much favored by Yemenite Jews, and because of it *hilbe* became a nickname for them. Ashkenazim would tease them with the interjection *isma' hilbe!*, 'hear, [you] h.! or with the question *btakul hilbe?*, 'do you eat h.?'

592. To the sweets mentioned above (*khalave*, No. 313; *khalekon*, No. 314) *mela'bes* = *mlabbas*, liter. 'dressed, coated' is to be added. It is a candy made of roasted peas or beans, coated with sugar.

This vocable produced a pun on the like-sounding *mlabes*, the Arabic name of the 'colony' of Petah Tikvah: "It is named *mlabes* because the local girls are sweet."

BW, 127: [Frucht]kerne überzuckert *mläbbäs*; Bauer, 39: *mlabbas* (= mit Zucker überzogen).

593. In addition to *sus* (No. 317) and *sakhleb* (No. 318), there is the beverage *ta'mar hi'ndi* = ~, 'tamarind,' liter. 'Indian date.' This is a cool brown-colored drink, made of the fruit of the palm-tree (*Tamarindus indica*) and sold by street hawkers.

For *tamar hindi* in European languages, see Lokotsch, 2013.

Of additional *vegetables* known by their Arabic names, there are the following:

594. *saba'ne* = *sabānaḥ*, liter. Ar. 'isbānaḥ, from Persian āspānāḥ, 'spinach,' a pot-herb (*Spinacia oleracea*), cultivated for its edible leaves. Now substituted by the Heb. word תרד.

Cf. Lokotsch, 126, for its usages in European languages.

BW, 301: Spinat sabāniḥ, isfānāḥ.

595. *khube'ze* = ḥubbēze, ḥubbāzī, 'common mallow' (Malva sp.), a grass, eaten by Arabs during the winter. The leaves are boiled to a thick soup. Jews do not use it.

A keen observer of Arab life, that of the villagers in particular, notes:

"The ḥubbeze is a popular staple in the diet of the Fellāḥ, although it is considered a poor man's food, concerning which his saying is: *iṣtaghal waiṣtaghal wal 'aṣa ḥubbeze*, work and toil, and supper is (only) ḥubbeze" (Moshe Stavsky, הערבי הכפר, 'The Arab Village', Tel Aviv, 1956, 54).

The following change occurred with this word in Spanish: With the addition of the Arabic definite article and the *imāla*, it became *alboheza* (cf. Arnold Steiger, *Contribucion* [full title in No. 104], 372).

596. *kulka's* = qulqas (from Greek kolokásion), a collective noun for a variety of taro, a plant (*Colocasia esculenta*) of the *arum* family grown for its edible starchy rootstocks (also known as *elephant's ear*, used for ornament).

In addition to the *fruit* mentioned above, Nos. 336-347, the following are to be listed:

597. *khokh* = ḥōḥ, 'peach' (*Persica vulgaris*), or 'plum' (*Prunus domestica*), of green color, the latter also known by its Arabic name barqūq.

598. *ba'lakh* = balah, 'fresh dates,' fruit of the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*), not yet ripe, of red color.

BW, 78: Dattel frisch balah.

599. Another kind of date, fresh and ripe, of brown color, is known in the Jerusalem parlance as *fa'yfes*, pl. of Arabic *sufayfa*, in distinction from *sufayfes* (Cf. Appendix I, No. 21).

600. A fruit product is *gamardi'n* = qamardīn, qamar ad-dīn, a kind of marmelade, made of apricots and water, spread out on the roof to dry until somewhat hardened.

BW, 26: [Aprikose]nfladen qamardīn.

IX. *Occupations, Trades*

The additional material in this sub-chapter deals with occupations connected mainly with the building trade and its implements as well as with some other occupations not mentioned hitherto. In a special section, some Arabic building terms mentioned in the Hebrew builder's contract (pp. 238-239) are explained.

Some occupations are connected with agriculture, namely:

601. *baya'rdži* = bayārgī, from Ar. baiyāra, bayyāra (see No. 435) plus Turkish suffix -ğī, 'overseer of an orange grove' where he usually lived with his family. He was an expert in all types of seasonal work, also acting as watchman. At first, the Arab *bayardžis* in the Jewish-owned groves came from the vicinity of Jaffa, but after the year 1906 Jewish *bayardžis* began to be engaged.

602. *kaya'1* = kayyāl (Mishnaic Hebrew מַיִל), usually, 'measurer of produce, corn measurer, one who determines the right measure.'

"In our place [Rehovoth]," my informant notes, "we knew Hasan kayyāl, who also was a broker for buying and selling horses — a transaction which usually was protracted over a week. He was an expert in measuring, and people used to say \* r'iz [er iz] a meyvum [Heb. מֵיִן; the liquid /n/ changes to its equivalent /m/ in a closed unaccented syllable] af di zakhn, 'he is an expert in these matters.'

BW, 193: [Korn]messer Mann keijāl.

The kayyāl is accepted among the Fellahin as an impartial measurer who will not wrong the parties concerned: "In order to prevent quarrels and litigation among the parties they invite an expert measurer (kayyāl), one whose livelihood is from it and is considered to be 'neutral,' in order to arrange the measuring [at selling the produce]" (Moshe Stavsky, *op. cit.* 94).

603. A resting place for travellers and their horses, donkeys and mules, was usually the *khan* = hān, 'inn' (Cf. also No. 420). The owner of such an inn is called *kha'ndži* = hāngī = hān plus Turkish suffix -ğī. Thus, in Jaffa, Yisroel [Israel] *khandži*, the owner of such an inn, was known only by this name.

604. A different type of resting place is the *luka'nda* = *lōkanda*, Italian *locanda*, 'hotel,' usually an Arab or a second-class, hotel with inferior accommodations.

BW, 131: [Gast]haus *lōkanda*: -āt; [Gast]wirt *lōkāndaği*, *ṣaḥib lōkānda*.

605. In connection with kinds of work and the payment involved, mention should be made of *mega'vale* = *mqāwale*, 'work given out on contract' (cf. No. 372).

In construction work and, especially, farm work, a distinction was made between two categories, which called for two kinds of payment: daily work, the payment for which was according to the laborer's age, and *megavale*. In the latter, the laborer was paid according to the number of pits he dug, or the number of trees he planted. At vintage time or harvest he was paid for each basket of grapes, or was given a fixed price, approximately half a *bišlik* (see No. 394), for each *pakh* (a 'can of gasoline') of peeled almonds. In this type of work, payment was made not by age but by the amount of work done. Quick workers could thus in one day of *megavale* earn the wage of two ordinary days' work. The word was used in all seasons of the year.

To the implements and materials used in different kinds of work mentioned above (Nos. 361-367), the following are to be added:

606. *izmi'l* = *izmīl*, 'chisel,' (akin to Mishnaic Hebrew *אומל אומיל* which has a different meaning). This was used as a kind of crowbar to pry open locks or remove screws and bolts.

BW, 217: Meissel der Steinhauer *izmīl*, lists it as a chisel used by stone-cutters and quarrymen.

607. *dzā'ras* = *ḡaras*, usually 'bell,' but has also the meaning of 'pulley,' a small wheel with a grooved rim in which passes a rope or chain for lifting heavy loads. In this sense *džaras* was used by Jewish farmers when building houses and digging wells.

608. *khanzi'ra* = *ḥanzira*?, an edging wall, a wood frame, lowered into a well for laborers to stand or sit on while making repairs.

609. *tin*, *ti'ne* = *ṭīn*, *ṭīna*, 'clay,' especially for building purposes. Thus, one might hear \* *m'et* [men hot] *ongeheybn* *cu boyen*, *hot'n* [hot men] *ongegreyt tin farn bi'nyen* [Heb. בנין, 'they began to build and they have prepared clay for the building.']

Some Arabic terms for various kinds of stone and construction material are included (in addition to those listed above, Nos. 351-360) in the builder's contract in Hebrew, pp. 238-239. They are:

610. אבנים פשוטים הנקראים גיקאשעבעטע. 'plain stones, known as *gikaše'bete*,' originating in Ar. *qašīb*, 'clean, polished.'

611. ופּתח אחד באמצע מאבני קאקולי. '...and an opening in the middle [made of] *kaku'li* stones' = *ka'kuli*, white-yellowish limestone, not durable, as explained by BW, 180-181: [Kalk]stein... *ka'kuli* gelblichweiss, nicht dauerhaft.

612. בלי באראק. 'without *bara'k*' = *barīq*, or *barrāq*, 'glitter, luster.'

612a. וּבֵית קָטָן וְלִוְגָאן. 'and a small room and a *luga'n*' — see No. 266.

612b. וּפֹאֲלֵעֵט טוֹבָה לְבִינָה [לְבִנָּה] עִג [עַל גִּבִּין] שְׁחֹרָה. 'and a proper white over black *pale'te*' — see No. 357.

613. כִּפֶּת אַבְנֵי נָאֲרִי. '...and a roof [made] of *na'ri* stones' = *nāri*, 'firestone,' following BW, 181: *nāri*, *ḥittān*, „Feuerstein", porös, leicht.

614. עִם דְּזֹבֵעֵס מְסֻתָּחִים הֵטֵב. '...with well-chiselled *džu'bes*' — pl. of *džu'be* = *ḡibha*, 'façade, stone(s) for the front.'

BW, 78: [Deck]stein einer Mauer *ḡibha*: *ḡibāh*.

615. שְׁנֵי כְּתָלִים ... חֲדָדְזָר מֵלֶאקֶט. 'two walls... [built of] *kha'džar ma'laket*' = *ḥaḡar malaki*, 'royal stone,' coarse marble.

BW, 180: *mäläki* Königstein oder Rudistenmarmor ist frisch gebrochen ziemlich weich, weiss.

615a. בַּבֵּלֶאטֶס צַעֲמֵנֶט. יִרְצֹף. 'he shall pave it... with *bala'tes* of cement' — see *balate*, No. 360.

616. ולכסות העלי בגג קאראמיד טוב, 'and to cover the attic [under] the roof with proper *karami'd*' = *qaramīd*, *qar-mad*, 'plaster.'

616a. ... וכל הבאשלאגען השייכים להם מקרע שין, 'and all the linings connected with them [should be made] of boards...' — pl. of *kreš*, 'a wooden board' (see Appendix II, No. 6).

616b. להעמיד שני קווינעס של עץ בשני צידי הבאלאקאן הדרומי, 'and he has to put up two wooden *kuzi'nes* on both sides of the southern balcony'. *kuzines* — pl. of *kuzi'ne* (see Appendix I, No. 5).

616c. והוצאות הרוכסיה כמה שיעלה, '[and he has to pay] the cost of the *ru'khse* as much as it will amount to.' For *rukhse* — see Vocabulary, No. 195.

616d. ... בעת שיתנו הבאראטיש של החלונות, '...at the time when they will place the *barati'sh* of the window'. — *barātiš*, pl. of *burtāš* (see No. 353). Cf. BW, 118: [Fenster]-sims *burtāš*: *barātiš*.

See also No. 705.

## X. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

To the vocables listed above, Nos. 389-405, the following are to be added:

617. *suk* = *sūq* (Mishnaic Hebrew שוק), 'market place,' concerning which in Jewish 'colonies' near the town of Lydda (Lod) it might be said \* *er fort ken* [keyn] *Lud cum suk*, 'he travels to the market in Lud.'

618. In addition to *suk* there was also the *baza'r* = Persian *bāzār*, an oriental urban 'market place'.

Although listed by Harkavy, 103/b, this word was known only in Southern Yiddish, while Northeastern Yiddish had ימארק (mark, *yari'd*) and Middle Yiddish knew ימארק (yu'mark, dialectally for יארמארק, *yo'rmark*, known in Polish as *jarmark*, originating in German *Jahrmarkt*).

The word *bazar* became known in European languages in the 17th century through travelers in the Orient, and especially

via the medium of the celebrated *A Thousand and One Nights* (cf. Lokotsch, 278).

619. In these market places one might buy *khi'shen* = *hišin*, 'coarse linen,' akin to *liter*. Arabic *ḥašuna*, 'to be rough, coarse, crude.' Of such linen, a saying was \* *s'iz ništ keyn gute skheyre* [Heb. סחורה], *s'iz khi'shen*, 'this merchandise is not good, it is kh.'

It is used metaphorically of a crude, uncouth fellow, in the one word: *khi'shen*!

BW, 153: *grob*... *Stoff hišin*; *Grobian*... *hišin*.

620. With Yiddish קליינגעלט, רעשטע (kley'ngelt, re'shte), 'small money, change,' the similar *masru'f* = *maṣrūf* was also used.

BW, 187, lists *Kleingeld*: *frāṭa*, *quṭa'*, *fäkke*; and 379, *Wechselgeld*: *ṣrāfe*, *fäkke*; also listed, *ibid.*, 317: *Taschengeld maṣrūf*, *ḥarḡijje*. — As to *ṣrāfe*, cf. *Vocabulary*, *ṣarraḥ*, No. 374.

621. Of the money listed above, Nos. 393-401, the *lī'ra be'ntu* deserves special mention. In Palestine, it was an English gold coin valued, until 1922, at five dollars. Generally, the *lī'ra* — of French, Italian, Belgian or other origin — was a gold coin valued at 20 francs. Jews among themselves named it *napo'lyen*, while in conversation with Arabs it was called *lī'ra* (cf. No. 399).

Current also among the Ashkenazim was a *terkiše lī're*, a Turkish gold coin valued at 23½ francs, which the Arabs called *lī'ra turkīyye*, 'Turkish lira.'

All these coins circulated in Palestine, with the French *lira* the most popular. The English *lira* was known among Arabs as *lī'ra anglīzi* (or: *īnglīzi*) while Jews called it *a funt*, or more exactly *an eyngl(i)šer funt*. To the Bedouins in the Sinai Desert and in the Negeb it was known as *lī'ra bēntu*, the latter not a corruption of English *pound* but rather meaning 'lira of the lady', named so because of the head of Queen Victoria on the obverse of the coin (literally, *bēntu* is 'girl, daughter!'). This was for the illiterate Bedouins the way to identify the coin. Similar in this respect were the Austrian

silver coins current in the Middle East, notably the Maria Theresa Thaler, so-called from the portrait of the Empress on it. Widely used in Abyssinia.

The name *lira bentu* was most popular during World War One when gold coins were widely current among Bedouins whom the British paid with them for camels or gave them as bakhshish for services rendered. The Arabs when speaking of them would join finger to thumb to indicate their size.

Of weights and measures, the following are to be added:

622. *o'ke* = oqqa, a weight of different magnitude in different districts, of 'many rotls' (according to my informant), not identical with *ōqiye*, No. 402, nor with Turkish oqqa, listed by Lokotsch, 1590.

623. *key'le* = *kēl(e)*, a dry measure for grain, with *key'le razavi'ye*, 'the Gaza keyle', well known among farmers who used to say: \* *di razavi'ye keyle hot mer tvue* [Heb. תבואה], 'the Ghaza k. contains more grain.'

## XI. Clothing

Only two additional vocables are to be listed with those mentioned above, Nos. 406-413:

624. *le'fe* = *leffe*, *laffa*, 'a sash' wound about the *fes*, or *ṭarbūš* (cf. No. 406).

BW, 192: [Kopf]bund der Männer um den Fes (ṭarbūš) gelegt läffe; *ibid.*, 328: [Turban]binde läffe, šāš.

625. Another Arab head-dress known among the Ashkenazim was *turba'n*, originating in Persian *dulbānd* and Turkish *dülbend* which became French *turban*. This is a head-dress of green color, worn only by the ḥağğ (cf. No. 251), while according to BW, 192, it is a small turban worn mostly by Muslim sheikhs north of Jerusalem: *kl[einer] Turban (hauptsächlich des musul. Sheichs nördlich von Jerusalem)*.

From personal observation, this word was known in its Turkish form to R. Gedalye Semyatitsher, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1699 (see above, p. 101). Describing the attire of the *yišm'elim*, i.e. Turks, he notes "He [the Turk] wears a



wrapping made of wool or silk around his head, and this wrapping is called *tulpan*."

(... ועל הראש הוא הולך מעוטף סביב הראש בבגד צמר גפן או של משי וקורין את העיטוף זה טולפן. — שאלו שלום ירושלים, רשמות, כרך ב', עמ' 466)

In this form, *tulpan* was also known in Old Yiddish and is mentioned for the first time by the Hebrew-Yiddish lexicographer and writer Eliyahu Bahur (or: Bo'kher) in the Yiddish book *Bovo d'Antona*, better known as *Bove Bukh* (published in Isny, 1541). Describing the adventures of the hero Bovo who fights his Turkish captors in the dungeon, the author tells how he succeeded in dressing himself in the clothes of the 'infidels,' i.e. the Turks:

און' די זעלבן היידשן קליידר טעט ער אן. דש ער זאך אז איין הייד בון רעכטן. און' דר נוך נאם ער איין טולפאן. דען וויקלט ער אום לעכט הונדרט ועכטן [ולעכטן].

'And he dresses himself in the same attire of the infidels, so that he himself looked like a genuine infidel; and then he took off a *tulpan* from another, winding it about [his head] in a hundred twistings' (Bava, published by Judah A. Joffe, New York, 1949, strophe 263: 1-4).

In a modern Yiddish rhymed version it is rendered thus:

און ציט אויף זיך ארויף די קליידער. / איצט זעט ער אויס א הייד אן עכטער. / א טולפאן נעמט ביים צווייטן רייטער, / ארום דעם קאפ זיינעם פארלעכט ער (אליהו בחור. בבא-בוך, פון אלט-יידיש משה קנאפיהיס, בוענאס-איירעס, 1962, ו' 102).

Thus, *tulpan* was known among Ashkenazic Jews in Italy, and Eliyahu Bahur explains it in his glossary at the end of his book: '*Tulpan* means the head-dress which the Turks wear on the head.'

*Tulpan* thus became a word by which the Turks were identified, and in time the idiomatic Yiddish phrase *אָנטאָן דעם טולפאָן* 'to wear the turban,' took on the meaning of 'converting to the Muslim religion.' We found this expression in testimony given before a rabbinical court in the year 1740 concerning the Sabbathian movement of the false Messiah Sabbatai Zevi in Moravia. Of the latter's activities and his conversion to Islam, the witness testified as follows:

... ווא הבוי איך איהם געפראגט וואש איז דש מעשה גוועזין פון ש"ץ [שבתי צבי] האט ער מיר גזאגט — ער [איז] גאנגין לטורקייא און' האט דען טולפאן אן גטאהן (ס' התאבקות... לר' יעקב עמדה, אלטונא. תקכ"ב, עמ' פח/ב).

'... Consequently, I asked him: 'what deed has Sabbatai Zevi done?', and he said: 'he went to Turkey and put on the *tulpan*.'

626. *tob* = *tōb*, a long frock, or a nightgown. "It is home-made, of coarse gray linen, long, wide, and closed. At the

chest it has an opening which is never closed, to put the head through it" (Moshe Stavsky, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

BW, 187, explains it as worn by both Fellāhin men and women: Kleid od[er] Hemd f[ür] Männer u[nd] Frauen d[er] Bauern.

## XII. Pastimes, Amusements

In their traditional way of life the older Ashkenazic generations were limited in their merrymaking. Their real manifestation of joy was demonstrated only at שמחה יום טוב, 'the rejoicing of the festival days,' or at a שמחה של מצוה 'rejoicing for a religious purpose' mainly within the confines of the family. Although there are many words in the Hebrew and Yiddish vocabulary for these festive occasions, the Ashkenazim were nevertheless so influenced by their Arab and their other Jewish neighbors that some relevant Arabic vocables penetrated into their daily language. Thus, the following words were known among Ashkenazim in Jerusalem:

627. *fu'rdža*, *fu'rdže* = *furğa*, festivity, merrymaking for everyone to see.' For a different meaning, see *fu'rdže bala's*, No. 126 — BW, 272: Schau *furğ*e, *manağar*.

628. *ze'fe* = *zäffa*, *zaffa*, liter. 'wedding procession.' celebration, concerning which it might be said \*s'vet zayn a greyse *ze'fe*, 'there will be a big wedding celebration.'

BW, 170: Hochzeitszug *zäffe*.

*zeffe* is the procession of bringing the bride to the groom, on which occasion people sing and musicians play to make it more merry. Hence, any festive procession thus celebrated is called *zeffe*. In this connection, an Arab proverb says concerning a person unable to distinguish between one matter and another *miṭl aṭraš bizaffe mu 'ārif šī min šī*, 'like a deaf person at a *zaffe*, unable to distinguish between one thing and another' (Yahuda, *Proverbia Arabica*, II, No. 1617).

629. *fa'rkha* = *farħa*, liter. 'festivity', but in Jerusalem an evening celebration of the *she've bro'khes* [Hebrew שבע ברכות], the party given at the house of a newly-married couple during seven days (in other localities on the Sabbath) following the wedding. Such a festivity in Jerusalem, cele-

brated almost four generations ago, is vividly described by Itta Yellin in her reminiscences (אמצא, II, Jerusalem, 1941, p. 23).

BW, 126: Freude farah, surūr, baṣṭ; Freudigkeit farah, surūr.

Other words connected with pastimes are:

630. *zama'ra* = *zammara*, 'fife, whistle,' a wood-wind instrument. Both Yiddish *fayfl* and Arabic *zamara* were in vogue, as, for example, in \*ali fayft mit zayn *zamara*, 'Ali whistles on his z.' From *zamara*, a verb *zame'ren* was coined, as in the ironic phrase \*er *zame'ret* šeyn, 'he lets his song be heard.'

BW, 244, notes Pfeifer *zammār*, but for 'fife' itself he lists, *ibid.*, *šuffēra*.

631. Of the various ways of having a *kef*, 'enjoyment' (see No. 414), mention has been made above of taking a *tak*, *khantur*, *kaleš*, and *karosa* (see Nos. 416-419), having a ride in various types of vehicles. This pleasure could have been taken either in company or alone, and in this connection a phrase was \*er fort *ska'rsa*, 'he rides alone.'

This word is not found in literary Arabic, only in the colloquial, as listed, for instance, in BW, 374, in the phrase: ich will e[ine]n [Wagen] für mich allein nehmen biddi āḥuḍ 'arabāi *skārsa*.

632. One of the pastimes, especially in the 'colonies', was to attend horse races which took place mainly at Petah Tikvah. When a horse could not make the race, it would be said \*zi *tale'fet* šeyn, namely 'she [the mare] is exhausted.'

It originates in Ar. *talīfa*, 'to wear out, exhausted,' 'finish.' The Yiddish infinitive is *tale'fen*.

633. Such horse races in the 'colonies' usually took place on the *meyda'n* = *maydan*, 'race ground,' also 'to gallop in a race track for horses.'

With Arabs, such horse races took place especially on the occasion of '*id al kabīr*, 'the great festival,' or '*id al-aḍḥa*, 'the feast of the sacrifice' (see No. 564).

634. After the races or after a ride, one could enjoy himself by going into a *kavine* and smoking a *nargile* (see No. 421). While sipping coffee, one sat, in the oriental manner, on a *ku'rse* = *kursi*, usually 'chair,' a low seat, a small chair with straw bottom.

### XIII. *Farmers' Language*

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, numerous Arabisms penetrated into the Yiddish language of the Jewish settlers in Palestine as a result of their daily contact with Arabs generally and with Arab workers in particular. These Arabisms, together with those already listed above (Nos. 428-453), are once more a reflection of the contacts between Jews and Arabs in the area of economic pursuits, especially in relations between employers and employees. Together with the Jewish settlers who themselves were engaged in various types of agriculture, the Arab remained part of the labor force in the Jewish settlements even after Jews learned the jobs. For many years עבודה ערבית, 'Arab labor' in the Jewish settlements played a part in the Jewish economy in Palestine. This economic relationship found linguistic expression in numerous Arabic vocables pertaining mainly to agriculture and its related areas. These vocables may be divided into categories according to type of work in the field, the vegetable garden and the vineyard. Also, the intimate experiences with nature and its phenomena as well as the contact with "God's creatures," the domestic animals and the beasts, the birds and the reptiles, all left their imprint on the farmers' language as expressed in Arabic words. They are noted in this chapter.

635. Of cultivable land, the farmer was familiar with *sa'lage*, black earth, conserving its water but unsuitable for trees, while Ar. *salaq* is 'a level and fertile plain.'

636. However, soil suitable for growing fruit trees, especially citrus is *kha'mre* = *hamra*, liter. 'red.'

This is identical with Talmudic Aramaic כרב 'to plow,' כרבא 'plowing.' Cf. the saying in *Sabbath*, 73/b: מכדי מרב כרבי ברישא 'do not people first plow (and then sow?).'

638. The season of sowing and also the grain itself (wheat, for instance) being sown are known as *zari'a*, *zari'e* = *zarri'a*, and concerning the first, it was said \* *s'iz zarie-cayt*, 'it is the season of sowing.'

639. Harvest time, during which Arabs absented themselves from work in the Jewish 'colonies,' was known as *khasi'de* = ḥašīde, ḥašīda, 'harvest, crop.' At that time, the Arabs were busy in their own fields, and concerning these workers the settlers used to say \* zey kumen nit arbetrn vayl ba zey iz *khaside*, 'they do not appear at work because of their *khaside*.'

640. With Fellāhin and Jewish farmers, the stubble of wheat or other grain left on the ground after reaping, is *gasa'l*, *gasi'le*, while Ar. *qasal*, *qusāla* is 'husks (of grain).'

641. An opening, a breach in the fence of thorns around vineyards and orange groves through which thieves could enter, is *fa'takha* = *fataha*, *fatha*.

642. The protruding lower branch of a grape-bearing vine on which grafting is done is known as *khanzi'r* = ḥanzīr, liter. 'pig.' It is also known by the similar Hebrew name חזיר, perhaps a semantic application because of its rooting on a plant not its own.

For the latter application, the Hebrew lexicographer Yehuda Gur lists in his מלון עברי 266/b, the general usage employed "in the [Hebrew] colloquial in Eretz Yisrael"

נצר היוצא מגזע עץ מרכב מתחת להרכבה (בלשון הדבור בארץ ישראל).

643. A small vegetable garden is *khaku're* = ḥākūra, a word known even among Jews in Jerusalem where land for cultivation of any kind is scarce. It was also known as 'an open plot.' Among Jewish farmers it was the ground behind the stable or cattle-shed used for gardening, as in the sentence \* me darf farzeyen di *khakure*, 'the plot is to be planted, sown.'

BW, 139, lists it as 'plot for vegetables': Gemüseland ḥākūra.

644. A cucumber or watermelon field is *mu'kta*, while Arabic maqṭe, miqṭe is 'cucumber' (*Cucumis sativus*).

A number of words are connected with labor processes, especially weeding in the fields, vegetable gardens and orange groves. Of these, mention is to be made of:

645. *takhmi'r* = taḥmīr, the process of hoeing around a tree or among the planted vegetables. It apparently originates in Ar. ḥamar, 'to strip, to remove something,' such as the upper layers of the soil.

646. While working at *baḥar*, 'tilling the ground' (see No. 431), especially around trees bearing fruit, like orange groves, the worker employed a system of 'entrance' and 'exit' on the right side. Well-trained workers succeeded also in 'going out', by alternating hands, from the left. This 'exit' is called *khurdž* = ḥurūḡ.

647. The area of land a laborer is able to clear in *baḥar* is known as a *nir* = nīr (akin to Mishnaic Hebrew ניר 'newly broken land,' while Biblical נִיר is 'fallow land').

648. Ground full of weeds, not cultivable, is known as *khushka's*, by which name it was familiar among Jewish farmers in the 'colonies.' (The colloquial Arabic equivalent can still be heard).

649. Some of the weeds that have to be uprooted are known by their Arabic names. One of these is *made'de* = middēde, maddād, 'bindweed,' a herb (*Convolvulus* sp.) which spreads from its twining stems over the ground. It was well known to the farmers since it grows during the hot summer and was used in the past as feed for cows and domestic animals.

650. Another weed is *khi'lfe* = ḥilfe, ḥalfā, 'alfa, esparto' a tall-growing field herb (*Stipa tenacissima*) with long, narrow, sharp leaves. Farmers have to uproot it completely, for, like the *indžil* (see No. 432), its roots take up the moisture from the soil and so ruin fruit trees.

651. The roots of the *indžil*, growing deep in the ground, are known as *haru'z* = harūz. While working at *bahar* (see No. 431) attempt is made to reach right down to the roots and extricate them to be burned.

652. Chickens were fed with the grains, kernels, of *zvan* = zu'ān, zuwwān, 'darnel' (*Lolium* sp.), a garden herb (cf. also No. 461).

653. In cultivating the orange grove and removing the *brare*, the damaged oranges (see No. 439) during the citrus season, special care is taken to eliminate those which are *mekha'madž* = mḥammiḡ, 'rotten,' from Ar. ḥamiḡa, 'to rot, decay.'

BW, 116: fäulig Frucht mḥammiḡ; *ibid.* 352: [ver]dorben ... Früchte mḥammiḡ.

654. An uprooted tree was known as *kara'me* = qarāmi, 'stump of a tree' (cf. also No. 287), and *kara'mes* was the word among Jewish settlers for the vineyards uprooted by order of the officials allegedly on behalf of Baron Rothschild.

Turning to domestic animals, we note that Jewish farmers "spoke" to the cows, horses, donkeys and mules in Arabic instead of in Russian as had been their previous custom. Thus we have the following interjections uttered on various occasions:

655. *i'rdža!* *i'rdžai!* = irḡ'a! irḡa'ī!, 'hey, come back!' Bauer, 98, notes: hā irḡa' kehr um! Zuruf an Zugtiere.

It is interesting to point out that Arab coachmen in the cities used to call to their horses *seri'k!* *seri'k!*, undoubtedly the German interjection *zurück!* They had heard it apparently from coachmen of the German and Austrian consuls in Palestine. Jewish coachmen and farmers took it over from the Arabs, not recognizing the Yiddish form *curi'k* of the same word.

656. *hos!*, calling thus a horse harnessed to a wagon to stop. This interjection was used by all coachmen — Arabs as well as Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews.

657. *zzaar!* *zzaar!*, an interjection to stimulate the donkey to copulate with the she-ass, or with the mare for the purpose of producing a mule. At this shout the donkey begins to 'bellow' = Ar. *za'r*.

658. *te'lem!* *te'lem!* = *talam*, 'furrow' (Heb. תלם) a common exclamation by Arab and Jewish farmers to prevent the horse or mule from leaving the furrow and plow line.

A number of vocables deal with the horse, its harness and its treatment. These are:

659. *kdiš*, *kdi'se* = *kediš*, *kadiš*, 'nag,' a horse of inferior quality, employed as a working animal. In this connection it is to be noted that also an *asil* (see No. 446) becomes a *kdiš* as soon as it is used for plowing or is harnessed to a wagon.

Cf. the proverbial saying, No. 162. — BW, 187: Klepper *kediš*: *kudūš*.

660. *ra'san* = ~, 'bridle, halter,' made up of several parts. Even those who spoke Hebrew in the 'colonies' preferred the Arabic *rasan* to the Hebrew רסן (*re'sen*).

661. *džam* = *lğām*, *liğām*, 'bridle, rein,' the bit, the metal part of the bridle placed in the mouth of the horse or mule.

The "l" of *lğām* disappeared in Palestinian Yiddish since it was considered as part of "al", or "el", the definite Arabic article.

662. *khordž* = *ħurğ*, a double sack, one on each side of the saddle, for holding food for the rider and fodder for the horse and any other things needed.

BW, 268: [Sattel]tasche *ħurğ*: *ħurūğ*. Cf. the idiomatic phrase *khotu fil khordž*, No. 159.



663. Of an unsteady horse whose legs are sick it was said \* *der ferd* is *makhmu'r*, 'the horse is m.' = *maḥmūr*, literally 'drunk, intoxicated.' — See also *talefen*, No. 632.

664. In such or like cases, the *bita'r* = *biṭār*, *baiṭār*, 'veterinarian' was called in, or when needed for any other animal.

The government veterinarian was called \* *der bita'r beledi'ye* = *biṭār belediye*, while before World War One *der veter-ne'r* was used.

BW, 321: [Tier]arzt *biṭār*, a[uch] *bēṭār*: *bajaṭre*. This word became Spanish *albeitar* and Portuguese *alveitar* (Lokotsch, 184).

665. For treating horses, a *khi'kne* = *ḥuqne*, 'enema' was used instead of the Yiddish synonyms *ka'ne*, or *klisti'r*, 'clyster,' employed only for humans, with the Arabic a substitute for the same among children.

BW, 188: *Klistier ḥuqne*, ~ *geben* 'iml *ḥuqne*, *ḥaqān*.

666. The owner of a healthy horse is *ba'rmaki* = ~. It is hired from him by farmers who wish to improve the breed of their own horses.

667. In concluding the vocables concerning horses mention is to be made of the *mu'hur* = ~, 'colt, foal,' so called until the first riding. Everybody, young and old, loved the *muhur*, enjoying its playfulness.

A number of vocables relate to animals, both domestic and wild, rodents, insects, and birds familiar to the Jewish farmer by their Arabic names. They include the following:

668. *baki're* = *bakīra*, a cow giving birth to a firstling, substituting the Yiddish *telece* (Russian *telica*). Farmers used to say: \* *undzer bakire hot šeyn gelofn*, 'our cow has already copulated.'

669. *džamu'z* (pl. *džamu'zn*) = *ḡāmūs*, liter. 'buffalo,' but generally cows, oxen, heifers, not necessary wild ones, living in swamps. My informant adds: "They are not from our vicinity, and the butcher would bring a small herd of *ḡamuzn*, a mother along with her offspring, from a distance. The

mother-buffalo used to bellow bitterly when one of the small ones was taken away to be slaughtered."

670. *khse'ne* = ḥṣēni, ḥuṣain, liter. 'fox,' but among Arab and Jewish farmers it was the female leader of a pack of hyenas. To the farmers she made her presence known by her awesome howling during the winter nights, and they used to say \* *di khse'ne* voyet, 'the hyena is howling.'

671. *khlund* = ḥlund, 'mole-rat' (akin to Mishnaic Hebrew חולדה originating in the root חלד, 'dig'; in Biblical Hebrew חפר from the root חפר, 'dig'). At first, Jewish farmers used the Russian *krot* which penetrated into Yiddish, but with time the Arabic vocable took over, as in the sentence \* *der khlund* est uf di kartofl in der gina' [Heb. גינה, 'the mole-rat devours the potatoes in the garden.']

672. *va'tvat* = waṭwāt, liter. 'bat,' any of the order Chiroptera of placented mammals, but among Jewish farmers it was the name of a certain very large butterfly, otherwise unidentified, which was to be seen among the almond trees. Large 'eyes' decorated its wings and perhaps because of its appearance it was looked on as a creature of some mystery.

673. *dabu'r* (pl. *dabu'res*) = dabbūr, 'wasp,' feared for its very painful sting. Although the Hebrew דבורה, דבורה שדה were also known, the common usage was *dabur* to differentiate it from the Yiddish אַ בֵּינ 'bee' which produces honey.

674. *pse'si* = fsēsi, 'wren,' a song bird of the family Troglodytidae, nesting mainly in thorn bushes.

BW, 397: [Zaun]könig fsēsi, fisfis.

675. *gargeza'n* — name (of Turkish origin?) of a bird, otherwise unidentified, found in Judea in the rainy winter season.

676. A 'trap, snare' for birds is *fakh* = faḥḥ. Although the Heb. equivalent פח was known, the Arabic vocable was used.

Some of the trees familiar to the Jewish farmer were known by their Arabic names:

677. The eucalyptus was known only as *kali'pte*, in the Arabic usage, although in colloquial Arabic in Palestine it is also known as *šağarat el-kīna* (BW, 112), 'the tree of qina, quinine.' It was planted on a large scale by the early Jewish settlers in swampy soil that harbored the anopheles mosquito, the carrier of malaria. Hence, it was also known among Arabs as *šağarat el-yahūd*, 'the tree of the Jews.'

678. *balu't* = ballūt, 'oak.' The wood of this hard and durable tree, growing in the mountain areas, was used by Arabs and Jews for making sticks or carving *nabuts* (see No. 138).

BW, 89: Eiche allg[emein] ballūt.

679. *džume'z* = ġummēz, ġummaiz, 'the sycamore tree' (*Ficus sycamorus*), one of the most common trees in Palestine, with fruit of inferior quality, eaten mainly by Arabs.

BW, 215: Maulbeerfeige... ġummēz.

Some of the implements the farmer used are:

680. *fas* = fās, 'hoe, mattock,' known together with *pioš* (see No. 440). BW, 246, notes the following: Pickel fās. No[rden Galilāa] mankuš [Cf. minkāš, No. 440]; *ibid.*, 302: [Spitz]hacke fās: fūs [fu'ūs].

681. *mesa'le* = misalla, a large needle used by the farmers for sewing sacks to hold almonds and covers for the large baskets for grapes. The word was also used by city people.

682. *urba'l*, *gurba'l* = ghurbāl, a large sieve for sifting barley and wheat grain and straw for fodder. BW, 294, describes it as [Sieb] für Getreide mit engmaschigem Darmnetz.

A few vocables relate to firearms that Jewish settlers learned to use in defense against Arab marauders. Some of these are:

683. *taba'ndže* = ṭabang(e), a short two-barreled pistol,

filled with *kokhol* (see No. 687), *ras* (see No. 685) and rags to be ignited. Arabs carried it in their belt.

BW, 247: Pistole *ṭabanḡ|e*, -āt.

684. *fa'sake* = *fašak*, 'cartridges' of a rifle or gun. In Arabic it is a collective while in Yiddish it is a *nomen unitatis*.

685. The tips of the cartridges are made of *rsas* = *ršās*, small 'bullets' of lead.

BW, 122: [Flinte]nkugel *rašās*; *ibid.*, 197: ~ *ršās*.

686. The cartridges might also be filled with *raš* = *rašš*, 'hail-shot' to inflict a wider, but not penetrating, wound.

BW, 284: Schrot, Bleikörner *rašš*, *ḥurduq*.

687. Both *ršās* and *rašš* are activated by *ko'khol* = *kuhl*, 'powder.' BW, 251: *pulverig* ... *miṭl el-kuhl*, while for *Schiesspulver* he lists *bārūd* (see No. 348).

A phrase in this connection is \* *me darf araynšitn kokhol* in *biks* oder in *kartu's*, 'powder is to be put in the gun or in the *cartouche*' (French 'cartridge').

A few vocables of general nature also originated in the way of life of the Jewish farmers before World War One and remained in use after it:

688. *el-ikhtya'r* = *el-iḥtyār*, 'the old man,' the father of the family; and *khityare'ye* = *iḥtiyāriye*, 'the old men,' an appellation for the seniors of the 'colony,' both uttered with respect.

BW, 13: *die alten Leute il-iḥtijārijje*; *alter Mann iḥtijār*: -ijje.

689. *sage'ye* = *saqiya*, 'payment for water,' originating in *saqa*, 'to give someone to drink.' This payment was usually *in natura*, i.e. two or three eggs, or some money — a *meteliq* or two — that Bedouins used to pay for them and their animals being allowed to use drinking water from the *birke* (see No. 436) in an orange grove.

690. *ba'sye* = *bašš*, 'swamp, marsh' (Heb. *בצץ*), but generally used for accumulated rain-water covering an extensive

area. Such a *basye*, for instance, existed between Rehovoth and the neighboring Arab village of Zarnuka, and was used by the Fellahin as pasturage for their herds.

BW, 315: sumpfige Stelle bass.

We conclude this sub-chapter with some Arabic names of Jewish settlements current prior to the use of their established names in Hebrew. In the past, such names had psychological and political import, and with the growth and development of the Jewish community in Palestine, the Arabic names of these settlements remained only memories of older times. Some of them are included in the still valuable book הארץ (Jaffa, 1911), by Eliyahu Sappir, who noted about 2,000 place-names in Palestine together with hundreds of their Arabic equivalents which still preserved their ancient Hebrew origins.

The British Mandatory Government adopted a policy of Arabizing the place-names, with the Hebrew names transliterated in an Arabic form, to an exaggerated degree. The list of such names, published in 1931, evoked sharp protest from the Jewish community, and its representative body, the General Council of the Jews in Palestine (Vaad Ha-Leumi), published a detailed *Memorandum of the Waad Ha-Leumi on the Method of Transliteration of Geographical and Personal Names* (Tel Aviv, 1932) together with two 'Lists of Corrections' (the Hebrew title being

תזכיר הועד הלאומי של יהודי ארץ-ישראל לממשלת ארץ-ישראל על שיטת הכתיב בהעתקת השמות הגיאוגרפיים והפרטיים. תל אביב. תרצ"ב).

Although this is now past history, it should nevertheless be placed on record together with the old Arabic names of the Jewish settlements noted below.

The names of the settlements (called by Arabs *kompaniye*, and by the Jews *kalo'nye*, namely 'colony') are given in their Yiddish form, followed by the Arabic and their names in Hebrew with a few details added about their establishment. These are (in alphabetical order):

691. *Afu'le*, a town in the center of the Valley of Jezreel, has still retained its Arabic name '*afula* in the Hebrew form עפולה although officially it is עיר יורעאל — עפולה (established in 1925).

692. *Ayu'n Ka'ra* = 'ayūn qārā, ראשון לציון, south-east of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, in the Shephela; est. 1882.

693. *Bir Sa'lem* = bīr sālīm, באר יעקב, not far from wādi ḥānīn, south-west of Rishon Le-Zion; established in 1907 by Rabbi Ya'akov of Dagestan, and named after him. Its first settlers were Caucasian Jews.

694. *Dura'n* = darān (endearingly, also called *ḍuranḡi*), south-west of Ramleh; established in 1890 by the society מנוחה ונחלה of Warsaw. Today it is the seat of the Weizmann Institute, named for Dr. Chaim Weizmann, first President of the State of Israel.

695. *Kasti'ne*, named from the Arab village qasṭīna, although the proper Arab name was bīr ta'abya, from which the Hebrew באר טוביה originated; established in 1887 by the Society of Lovers of Zion; destroyed by the Arabs in the disturbances of 1929; rebuilt in 1930. It is mentioned in a popular Hebrew folk-song „מראש פינה עד קסטינה“, by Kaddish Y. Silman.

696. *Khede're* = ḥḏeyra, Heb. חדרה, in the Sharon, south-east of Caesarea; est. 1890.

697. *Mela'bas* = mlabas, the name by which פתח תקוה, the 'mother of the Jewish settlements' (אם המושבות) was known; est. 1878, abandoned shortly thereafter and resettled in 1882. Today it is one of the larger cities in Israel.

For a pun on its name — see No. 592.

698. *Se'džere* = saḡara, retained in the Hebrew form סג'רה, south-west of Tiberias; est. 1889 by the Jewish Colonization Organization.

699. *Yahudi'ye* = el-yahūdiya, formerly a village near Petah Tikvah where its first settlers lived during the years when they were forced to abandon the settlement.

700. *Ye'me* = yema, יבנאל, in Lower Galilee; established 1902.

701. *Zamari'n* = zammārīn, זכרון יעקב, north-east of Caesarea; established 1882, named after Ya'akov (James) Rothschild, father of Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

XIV. *Folk Medicine*

The following Arabic vocables, describing certain practices mainly among the Arabs, were also known among the Jewish farmers:

702. *du'mal* = dummal, 'furuncle,' in Yiddish *a ma'ke* (of Heb. origin, מכה), suppurating wound, healing with difficulty. The practice was to squeeze out the puss from the wound.

BW, 143: Geschwulst, Geschwür... dummal(e): damāmil.

703. *kay* = kayy (Hebrew כויה), 'burning, branding.' As a remedy for persistent sickness, Arabs recommended branding with a white-hot iron spit or bar, applied to men, women and children indiscriminately. It was especially used for snake-bite. Jewish farmers applied branding only to sick animals.

BW, 69: brandmarken kawa.

704. *milga't* = milqat, (pair of) 'pincers, tweezers,' to remove thorns, especially troublesome in the summer when people walked barefoot, carried by Arabs in their belts together with a knife, some salt and spices. It was used also by Jewish farmers.

BW, 247: Pinzette malqaṭ: malāqiṭ.

705. In the builder's contract in Hebrew (line 17 bottom of p. 238), one more kind of stone is mentioned, in addition to those noted above (Nos. 610-616):

ולעשות מדריגות... זאלע דוקא 'to make steps... only of *zale*' = Arabic zal, zil, 'smooth stones.'

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*Omissions and Corrections*

The numbers of the following omissions and corrections refer to those of the vocables in the Vocabulary:

15. *bukra fil mi'smiš*, 'tomorrow [in the season of] mi'smiš,' that is to say, after a while, and understood as a rejection or refusal. Regarding this, cf. the story by Yahuda, II, p. 175, No. 2161, about an Egyptian and a Syrian Arab who were partners in selling fruit.

40. *a'lla kari'm* is also used in the meaning of the Yiddish saying גאט איז א פאטער (got iz a foter), 'the Lord is a father.'

44. It is also heard in the phrase \* *dakhi'lak, ya šeykh!* = *daḥilak yā šēḥ*, liter. 'I ask you, o sheikh!', but here with the meaning of 'please, help me!'

48. *yare't*. BW, 395: wünschen möchte *jārēt*; Bauer, 99: *jā rēt* oder *jarēt* o dass doch. As for the form, he adds (*ibid.*, 8, h): l wird r in *jarēt* von *jā* leit o dass doch.

63. This word does not appear separately but in conjunction with the Hebrew-Yiddish זונה 'prostitute,' as in the phrase [zi iz] a zey'ne, a *šarmu'ta*, 'she is a whore.'

However, in Palestinian Yiddish *šarmuta* is confused with another Ar. colloquial word *šartūṭa*, namely 'rag', and thus its Yiddish equivalent שמאטע (*šmate*) became a synonym for 'prostitute.'

66. This is also pronounced *malu'n*, and is not necessarily employed abusively; also used with the meaning of 'hypocrite, hypocritical.'

69. This is generally known in Yiddish with the meaning "clumsy fellow" (Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 104: באַכמאַט = *bakhmat*), where it penetrated either from Polish *Bachmat* or Russian *bakhmat*, a designation for 'horse'. Lokotsch, 128, connects it with Persian *pahn* 'large, wide' and Turkish *at* 'horse', citing Rumanian *bahmet*, which should be taken as a transition form for *bachmat* [*bakhmat*].

74. To intensify the meaning of this abusive word, it is duplicated by the addition of the Hebrew-Yiddish equivalent, \* a *štik ti'nef* [Heb. שטיק טינעף] a *štik kha'ra!*, 'some piece of filth, dirt!'

75. This also denotes a difficult situation, disappointment, psychic depression.

85. BW, 244: Pfennig; ohne e[ine]n ~ Geld *ṭafrān*.

89. The etymology is to be corrected, following BW, 163: Held ... *ḡada'* as not connected with Ar. *ḡād*.



97. People also say \* er iz a *te'mbel*, ... a greyser *te'mbel*, and endearingly to a child *te'mbale*.

121. BW, 155: [gut] oder gütig sein, z.B. sei so [gut]! i'mal (auch ti'mal) ma'ruf! min faḏlak!

126. *fu'rdže bala's* is also said of a woman immodestly exposing herself. It is also used in disapproval of a boy and girl walking arm-in-arm or in similar intimacy.

137. *u'drub!* has also an ambiguous sexual meaning, as in \*kol zman [Heb. כל זמן] ... *u'drub!*, hak!, 'as long as ... knock!'

144. *bakši's* is also a gift, or alms given children begging in the streets.

153. *šarki'ye* = šarqīyye, synonymous with *khamši'n* was also used, particularly by 'colonists', but it was not general.

173. In the administrative division, the usage אין גאנצן וואַליאַט (in gancen *valia't* = wilāyet), 'in the whole province' is to be added.

187. *nifu's* (also *nafu's*) was also used for a certificate of Turkish citizenship.

189. BW, 183: [Kauf]urkunde [concerning ḥiḡḡe, No. 227 and qūšān, No. 188]: ihr geht eine den Kauf bezeugende Urkunde voraus: mazbaṭa.

193. Concerning *vaki'les*, the statement 'a term known in Palestinian Yiddish only in its plural,' is to be corrected: the singular *vaki'l* was also current, and *der vaki'l* was known to many.

195. This word was well known in the Jewish settlements mainly because of the Turkish prohibition against the building of new houses. Soldiers would appear on the site and disperse the workers, and then allow them, after payment of *bakhshish*, to continue the work. Once building was completed, the rule was: "whatever is built is not to be destroyed." The Turkish authorities, however, permitted the construction of cattle sheds, stables for horses, donkeys and mules, and chicken coops. As a consequence the first houses in the settle-

ment of Ekron were made to look like stables and were registered by the authorities as such.

207. *ki'sle* was also used for King David's Tower (מגדל דוד) in Jerusalem, because of the near-by prison.

209. There was also such a prison in the Old City of Jerusalem.

211. *sara'ye* is another word for 'prison', usually located there.

218. This also means the expropriation of animals (horses, donkeys) for government labor.

222. The word *khma'ye* is a Yiddish form of Ar. *ḥimāye*, although BW, 286, lists: Schützling (šahş) maḥmij, muḥama 'anno: ich bin dein ~.

227. BW, 59: [Besitz]titel ḥiḡḡe, vollgültig, im Grundbuch bestätigt qūšān [cf. No. 188].

250. Not only women but also important male Arabs used *khi'ne* to beautify their faces.

252. Anyone could be addressed by the title *šeykh*, or *šekh*, without this implying any honor to the person. It is exactly as when a man is addressed in Yiddish ר' חיים, ר' זרח (R. Khayim, R. Zorakh) although *Reb*, or its initial R., really stands for *Rabbi*.

Bauer, 98: jā šēḥ an einen Stammeshäuptling, auch ehrwürdigen Alten; in ironischen Sinn wird es für jeden gebraucht.

255. *ima'm* is also in Palestinian Yiddish a name for a man learned in matters of Islam.

262. Ashkenazi women who lived among Moghrebi Jews in Jerusalem used to raise their hand, with five fingers widely spread, and say *kha'mse* instead of *on anho're* (Heb. עין הרע), 'without the evil eye.' This was a protective saying against any evil, in which the spoken word and the hand gesture collaborated.

Cf. the interesting notes on *ḥamse* and *ḥamse fi 'eynak* (No. 151) in Yahuda, II, 21-23, Nos. 1398-1400.

272. In Palestinian Yiddish of today, the Heb. מחסן is used, while *klado've*, *klado'vke* (Russian *kladova'ya*, *kladovka*), 'pantry,' previously heard, have been substituted by Ar. *makhza'n*.

293. In every household, especially in the 'colonies,' *pi'te* was baked while the prepared dough for bread was put in the oven.

321. *bakala've*, or *bakla've*, a sweet baked cake, like *štrudl*, was known among Arabs and Turks in the cities, but not in the villages among Fellahin or among Bedouins of the desert.

354. BW, 432: [Stein]brocken wie sie sich beim [Stein]-brechen ergeben dabš od[er] ġabš.

414. To *imka'yef*, the pronunciation *muka'yef* is to be added, as, for instance, in the phrase \*er iz *mapsu't*, er iz *mukayef*. — *mapsut* = mabsūt (see No. 104).

419. BW, 199: Kutsche karrōsa: -āt; *ibid.*, 374: [Wagen] karrōsa, while in colloquial Arabic in Judea it is 'arabīye, 'arabāye and in Galilee 'arabāne.

426. *boka'* is perhaps connected with Ar. baqā', 'to remain, stay.'

434. Ashkenazic Jews used only *ti'ben* instead of its Yiddish equivalent *štrey* or *štroy*.

450. In addition to *ma'zbele*, the enunciation *mi'zbele* is also heard. With Jewish farmers it served only the primary function of a heap of manure in the backyard, used for the fields, and not as a meeting place used by the Arab villagers.

For any lack of order in the yard, the saying was \*di heyf iz gevorn a *mizbele*, or in Hebrew המקום הפך למזבלה, 'the yard (or: the place) became a heap of dung.'

454. BW, 76: Dampf als Dunst hubbāl, F[ellachisch] hībāl. — *melici'n* is also known in some Yiddish dialects.

## APPENDIX I

## LADINO WORDS IN PALESTINIAN YIDDISH

As mentioned above, quite a number of words, usages and sayings penetrated from Ladino into Palestine Yiddish as a result of the contact between the two communities of Ashkenazim and Sephardim. All these scattered words tend to point to a closer contact between Ashkenazim and Sephardim than appears from the historical material. The words refer to food, fruit, vegetables, material objects and metaphorical usages and meanings, and it is inconceivable that they have entered into Palestinian Yiddish only through Sephardic women servants. The borrowed words indicate mutual contacts, where emulation, friendship and neighborliness were, in one form or another, constantly at work. Words like *nočade*, *visita*, *fruta*, *maniia*, *canios*, etc., certainly show that Sephardim and Ashkenazim were in close contact: they visited each other, they were curious about each other's customs and ways of life, and thus imperceptibly there took place some form of social-cultural junction. To be sure, the number of these loanwords is rather small,<sup>1</sup> especially when compared with the Arabic which were adopted in the daily language of the Ashkenazim, chiefly as a result of economic ties.

The following words are in common use in Yiddish phrases: <sup>2</sup>

1. *bra'ka* = braca = laughing stock. — \* men makht

1. In a pretentious note, entitled "The Influence of Judaeo-Spaniollic [!] on Judaeo-German [!]", by Sami Angil, published in *Edoth* (Hebrew), a Quarterly for Folklore and Ethnology, I (Jerusalem, 1946), 103—104, a list of seventeen Ladino words is included.

2. I usually observe the following order in citing the Ladino words in the vocabulary: they are given first in their Yiddish pronunciation, followed by that in Ladino and then, wherever possible, the Spanish

fun im a *bra'ka*, 'They make a laughing stock out of him'.  
 \* er hot derfun gemakht a *bra'ka*, 'He belittled it.'

2. *puste'ma* = *pustema* = Sp. *postema* (of Greek origin, *apostema* [Cf. Meyer-Lübke, 529a = ML] meaning "Geschwür") = plague, pest, but used figuratively of a fleshy, corpulent girl. — \* s'iz a greyse p', 'she is big and fleshy'.

In houses where Sephardic women serve as domestic help, the adjective *preta* = black is added, in the saying, *pustema preta*.<sup>3</sup>

*kaleva'se*, *kalavasi'ka* — see No. 18.

3. A Sephardic Rabbi, or any one who makes his living by being paid for studying the Talmudic Law, is a *khakha'm* = *Heb.* חכם, the same word as in Ladino (with the same pronunciation in Yiddish).

4. *gale'ches*, pl. of *gale'če* = *galeča* = wooden houseshoe (Wagner, *Beiträge*, 183: Pantoffel, Holzschuh mit hohen Absätzen, wie man sie in den türk. Bädern gebraucht).<sup>4</sup>

Among Ashkenazic type-setters in Jerusalem, it is used for extra large type, as may be heard in the saying:

\* vos vilt ir. kh'zol aykh gebn *galeče-ey'ses* [Heb. אותיות 'letters']? 'What do you want? Shall I give you *galeče*-type? (in answer to a complaint about small type).

Some expressions are connected with the house and household, e.g.:

5. *kuzi'ne* = *cusina* = Span. *cocina* = kitchen. — \* makh cu di *kuzi'ne*, di kac ken nokh aroyskhapn di fleiś, 'Close the door of the kitchen, the cat might snatch the meat'.

6. *pavilo'nes*, pl. of *pavilo'n* = *pavelon* = Sp. *pabellón* = curtain.<sup>5</sup>

derivation is given. The sign ~ indicates that there is no difference in spelling of the vocables in Ladino and in Spanish.

3. Port. *preto* = black. Sephardim use it in the meaning of priest, instead of the Castilian *negro* because of the black clerical garb of Catholic priests (Cf. Salomon Rosanes, *A History of Jews in Turkey*, I, 289—290).

4. *galečas* may be referred to the Latin *caligas*, nail-studded shoe of the Roman soldier.

In the form גליגאס it is known in the Midraš (Cf. Jastrow, 248, s.v.).

5. In my home town, Vilno, called *gardīnen*, pl. of *gardīn*, also a Romance word, a vestige of Old French *curtine*, from Latin *cortina*, diminutive of *cortis* < *cohors*, an enclosed space.

7. *sa'vine* = *sa'bana* = ~ = a bed-sheet, quilt cover.

Sephardic women are hired as domestic help. As a result the following words penetrated:

8. Washing the floor is *spo'ndžen*, or \* *makhn a spo'ndže*, the woman doing it — *spo'ndžerke*, and the rag to mop up the floor — *spondžedo'r*, all originating in Ladino *esponja* = sponge, Spanish *esponja*, originating in Greek *Spoggos* or *sfoggos*.

\* *zayt nit keyn spondžedo'r*, 'Don't be a rag', meaning don't be soft-hearted, is a saying heard very often.

9. Water is kept in a *tona'že* = *tinaja* = ~ = a large earthenware jar.

\* *vu zayt ir?* — in *tonaže*, 'Where are you? — in the jar', an ironical answer to the question, with an alliteration of the past tense of the verbs *zayn*, 'to be', and *zayen*, 'to strain', 'to filter' conveying a *double entendre*.

10. An important house implement is the *sarte'n* (also pronounced *sakhte'n*) = *sarten* = frying pan for roasting peas and suchlike (see *kada'mes*, Vocabulary, No. 335).

11. Laundry is washed in a *pay'le* = washtub, while Ladino *paila* is actually a cooking pot (in my hometown — *bali'ye*, or *baley'e*).

12. In washing, soap is used in the form of a *kalu'p* = *calup* = mould < Turkish *qaleb* (Cf. Luria, *Monastir Dialect*, 551). This is one of a number of Turkish vocables which penetrated into Yiddish through the medium of Judaeo-Spanish. Another one in this connection is *pashtema'l*, or *pusht(e)mal* (Cf. Vocabulary, No. 291).

There are also *culinary* terms connected with dishes, vegetables and fruits, e.g.:

13. *krista'de* = a mayonnaise salad served with fish, while Ladino *Agra estada* = a soured, thick sauce of eggs.

14. *khamina'des* = eggs fried on the cover of the *čolnt*-pot. The etymology of both vocables, the second being a Yiddish word, is rather interesting. *khaminades* is composed of the Aramaic *ḥamin*, m. pl. of *ḥam* 'warm, hot, boiling',

and in this instance a specially prepared *hot dish* for the Sabbath, plus the suffix *-ado(s)*, to which the verbs *enḥaminar*, *enḥaminaro*, 'warmed, heated,' are also related.

Depicting Jewish life in Jerusalem eighty years ago Ephraim Cohen-Reiss notes: "While the majority of the Lithuanian Jews have satisfied themselves with herring, Arab halwah and some meat for Sabbath, and the Sephardim [were content] with "burekes" (cakes filled with cheese), "ḥamindacos" (hard-boiled eggs) and "ḥamin", the Hungarian Jews always remembered the fish and meat which they used to eat in Hungary.<sup>6</sup>

*ḥolnt* (also pronounced *ḥont*), Sabbath dishes cooked during Friday night in a closed stove and served hot, known from early times in Yiddish, is also of Romance origin. Zunz, *gottesd. Vorträge* (1892), 546, suggests for it Italian *scaldato*, while Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (Cecil Roth's edition, 1932), 167, n. 1, supposes "that the word is connected with O.F. *chald* = modern *chaud*." (Also quoted by A. Berliner, *Aus dem Leben der Deutschen Juden im Mittelalter* (1900), 60, without giving the reference).

This etymology is emphatically rejected by Professor Leo Spitzer in his paper "Yiddish (T)schale(n)t = Französisch *chaud*?" (*Modern Language Notes* [February, 1946], 101—104) as untenable, and he proposes instead the O. F. *échalotte* 'eine Zwiebelart (capa ascalonica)'.

It appears in various spellings שאלנט, שאלט, צלנט, צאלנט, טשאלנט the predominant sound being *š*, *tš* = [č].

Concerning the numerous etymologies of *ḥolnt*, cf. my paper "Doynen = davnen; toycn = tečn; šalet = ḥolnt" (Yiddish), *For Max Weinreich On His Seventieth Birthday*, Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature and Society. The Hague, 1964, 355-[368].

15. *pasteli'kos* = *pastelicos*, Sp. *pastel* = pastry, cakes, especially dry cakes for the Sabbath.

16. *mo'ye* = *meoio* = Sp. *meollo* [Cf. ML. 5463, *medülla*, also quoting "Judsp (= judenspanisch) *meoyo*, "Gehirn"] = 'marrow', animal brain, served as an entrée.

17. *peča'* = *pača'* < Turkish *pāčāh* = bone, but among both Sephardim and Ashkenazim it is a special dish prepared from jelly of calves' or cows' feet (cf. Lokotsch, 1601).

This word is known in Yiddish and is listed in Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 374.

18. *kaleva'se* = calabaza = pumpkin of small size.

6. מזכרונות איש ירושלים, 25.

The expression \* a kop fun a *kalevase*, 'A head of a pumpkin', is a nickname for a blockhead, while the word itself also designates a bald-headed person, baldness.

The diminutive *kalava'sikes* = calabazicos, is a nickname for Sephardim (see vocabulary, No. 235).

19. *kakho'mres* = cocombros = cucumber.

Menahem Mendl Kamenicer, writing about "the varieties of vegetables which are found here [in Palestine]", adds:

"...But in the gardens which are irrigated are grown *kuses* [pumpkins], *tomatis* [tomatoes], *kakhomres*, *kallevaseh*, and other varieties which are not to be found in our countries [Poland, Lithuania]." (אבער אין די גערטניר וואס מען בגיסט וואקסט קישות, טאמאטיס, קאכאמרעס, קאללעוואסע, נאך פיל וואס אין אונזרי מדינות איז עס ניט דא).

20. *bombri'ye(s)* = *bimbriio(s)*, dissimilation of *membrillo(s)* [Wagner, *Beiträge*, 117] = quince (*Cydonia vulgaris*) [Ar. *safarḡal* — see Vocabulary, No. 459].

21. *sufay'fe(s)* = *sofaifa*, *asofaifa* (Sp. *azufaifa*) [Wagner, *ibid.*, 105, 144; comp. also Lokotsch, 2228] = cranberry (*Ziziphus vulgaris*).

22. *brondži'ne(s)* = *berenĝena* = eggplant (*Solanum melongana* L.).

It originates in Arabic ادنجان colloquial *bēdingān*, popular etymology for "Demon's eggs" [cf. T. Canaan, *Plantlore in Palestinian Superstition*, *JPOS*, VIII (1928), 130], from the Persian *bādingān* (Löw, *Flora*, III, 377-379; Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte*, II, 279; Lokotsch, 161).

23. *pazi'* = ~ = sorrel (*Rumex vesicarius*), known also as *ščav* = Polish *szczaw*, Russian *ščavel'*.

24. *papi'te(s)* = *pepita* < *pivite* (Cf. Luria, *Monastir Dialect*, 447) = seeds of the sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*).

25. *konefi'te(s)* = *confito(s)* = candied almonds.

Some of the Ladino words which penetrated into Palestinian Yiddish are connected with Sephardic customs, manners of enjoyment and the like, e.g.:

26. *fru'te* = *fruta* = fruit, a custom taken over by Ashkenazim together with the name. *frute* is served on Saturday



afternoons when the family and guests sit around the table, and it consists not of fruit, as the name might imply, but of various seeds, such as *fistukes*, *papites*, *kadames* (see Vocabulary, No. 335), *piniones*, and raisins.

27. *noča'de* = *nochade* ? = the evening of celebration for the bridegroom and bride after their wedding, usually taking place on a Saturday night.

28. The intermediate days (called חול המועד pronounced *khalamey'ed*) between the first and last days of Passover and of the Feast of Tabernacles are festive days in Jerusalem: people do not work, are dressed suitably, and pay *viži'te(s)* = *visita(s)*, visiting one another.

29. Ladino *asinder* < Sp. *encender*, to burn = to light the Sabbath candles, which a special crier announces late afternoon on Fridays, became *ci'nder*, as heard in the phrases \* *men šrayt šeyn cinder*, 'it is time to light the candles', and \* *hot men šeyn gešrien cinder?*, 'Has the time for lighting candles already been announced?'

30. The סוכה, the booth in which Jews eat during the Feast of Tabernacles, is covered with *ka'nye(s)* = *canio(s)* < Sp. *caña*, 'pipe, canes (of sugar-cane).

\* *mir'n* [mir veln] *forn af a kanye mit cvey muriškes*, 'We will ride on a cane [harnessed to] two ants', is said in Jerusalem of a journey that will not materialize.

31. In addition to *kha'neke* [Heb. חנוכה] — *templ*, Hanuka-lamp, the Ladino *khaniki'ye* = *hanikiie* is also heard (whence חנכיה in modern Hebrew).

32. *kavine'* = *cavine*, *café* is heard in a phrase like \* *tog un nakht zict er in kavine*, 'He spends day and night in the *café*'.

See also, Vocabulary, No. 421.

33. The *kavine* is the place where one may hear among other things '*frenkiše*' *ponti'kes* = *punticas*, jokes, witticisms.

34. A term connected with education among Ashkenazic Jews in Jerusalem of past years, is a *me'stra*, mistress, a Sephardic woman heading a sort of "Kindergarten" for Se-

phardic and Ashkenazic children. Her main task was merely to keep an eye on them so that they would behave, which meant to sit still, and sometimes take them in a "ring around the rosies."

The following is a description of *mestras* in Jerusalem of the year 1897, from correspondence on the state of Jewish education there:

"...And the fate of those children who go to the houses of the "mestros", the Sephardic governesses, is far worse. For in a small room, sometimes placed in a cellar, are gathered about twenty little boys and girls, sitting all day motionless on the floor... The children are submissive and frightened, and these governesses boast that they teach them "good manners"! There are numerous training institutions like these in our city, for there are also among our Ashkenazic sisters those who acquired this "instruction."<sup>8</sup>

35. For hand-bracelet the Ladino *meniye* = *maniia* is used. It is produced from cheap metal, usually copper or brass, gilded for glitter.

See also, in Vocabulary *avyo'* — No. 282 ; *bure'kes* — above, No. 14 ; *fistu'kes* — No. 347 ; *flo'res* — No. 459 ; *frandže'les* — No. 294 ; *kafte'le* — No. 297 ; *kundža'yelakh* — No. 457 ; *ru'de* — No. 456.

8. David Yellin *Selected Writings*, I, 183—184.

## APPENDIX II

SPECIFIC HEBREW LOAN WORDS IN PALESTINIAN  
YIDDISH

A study of the Yiddish of the Old Ashkenazic community in Palestine should also include the *Hebrew* usages not current elsewhere, in addition to the Hebrew elements already in Yiddish. On the basis of my observations it is safe to conclude that these additions penetrated as a result of the special social structure of the community, prominent in which was the group of so-called 'learned men', (commonly known as "*yeš'i've-layt*" (ישיבה-לייט) whose main occupation was study of the Talmudical law. Partly it was also due to the institution of *Ḥaluka* (Heb. חלוקה) the distribution of charitable funds for Palestine collected abroad, the larger shares of which were set aside for those already connected with administering the funds, their relatives and the social group above mentioned.

1. A compound of several houses is known as *kho'cer* = חצר [Yiddish equivalent: *heyf*], courtyard.

Thus, for instance, the ראדעשקעוויצער חצר (*radeškevi'cer kho'cer*) was known at the Street of the Mayda'n in Old Jerusalem. Also, *gazla'nes kho'cer*, in relation to the Gazal family, was known there.

2. An indispensable part of each courtyard is the *bor* = בור [grub], cistern (pl. *bey'res* = בורות) for rain-water, and one is indeed satisfied when he says \* *der bor iz šeyn ful*, 'The cistern is already full'.

3. The water of the cistern is kept, among other vessels, in a *pakh* = פח, a tin-plate can of standard size (see Vocabulary, No. 281).

4. Because the ceiling of the house is vaulted, it is called *ki'pe* = כפה, liter. vaulted chamber.

5. At the front of each house runs a *may'ke* = מעקה [ganik], parapet, railing, and one may, for instance, hear the warning \* *špar zakh nit on on der may'ke*; *zest dokh vi leyz zi iz*, 'do not lean on the railing; don't you see how loose it is'.

6. A plank of wood for building purposes or the making of furniture is a *kreš* = קרש [bret].

School-children, so-called *khey'der-inglakh* have a 'team-song' with the chant used in reciting the *khu'meš* (Heb. חומש Pentateuch):

vayey'mer [וַיֹּאמֶר] — t'er gezogt

vayeda'ber [וַיְדַבֵּר] — t'er geret

a *kreš* — a bret...

In the following phrases the Hebrew usages are part of daily speech:

7. \* *vu firste mir inmitn de'rekh* [veg]? = דרך, highway, 'where are you guiding (leading) me?'

8. \* *ikh hob dey'leg geven* [ibergehipt] *un ariber in a hekherer ki'te* [Heb. כיתה 'group, class'], 'I skipped and was transferred to a higher class.' — *dey'leg* = qal active participle דולג < דולג 'leap, jump', hence 'to skip'.

9. \* *di eršte zayt fun sey'fer* [Heb. ספר] *iz geven a bisl to'le* [untergelatet] = qal passive participle טלוא 'patched'. 'The first page of the book was somewhat patched.'

10. \* *men vet makhn an ikl* = עקול 'foreclosure'. 'They will make a foreclosure.'

11. \* *Af a zicung mit di Araber, hobn zey gezogt, az keyn pli'le* [bašuldikung] *vet men nit araynvarfn*, 'At a meeting with the Arabs, they declared that they would not press a criminal charge.' — *pli'le* = פלילה 'justice, litigation, criminality' (Cf. Isaiah 16: 3 הִבִּיאוּ [הִבִּיאוּ] עֲצָה עֲשִׂי [עֲשִׂי] פְּלִילָה 'Give counsel, execute justice').

12. \* *vos vilste hobn fun im? er iz dokh nebakh a keyšl* [gafalener] = נושל 'a staggerer'. 'What do you want of him? It is a pity, he is a staggerer.'

13. \* cum sof hot zakh aroysgevizn, az men darf keyn *ri'syen* nit hobn, 'After all it appeared that they do not need a permit.' — *ri'syen* = רשיון 'permit'.

14. \* di gance *khavu're* is arayn in "bney bris" [Heb. בני ברית] 'the whole group joined [liter. entered] the [benevolent order] 'Beney Brith' ". — *khavu're* = חבורה company, party, group.

15. \* es geyt a gance *šayo're* = שיירה 'caravan', 'A long caravan is approaching (driving ahead).'

16. \* veyst ir vifl *rekhu'ses* [farmegns] hobn idn gehat in škhe'mer gas?, 'Are you aware of the real estate that Jews owned in the sh. -street?' — *rekhu'ses* = pl. of רכוש 'property'. — *škhe'mer gas* — See Appendix III, No. 34.

*šemen za'yis* = שמן זית — See Vocabulary, No. 324.

*pa'rdes* = פֶּרֶדֶס — See Vocabulary, No. 435.

Specific Hebrew words are those connected with the administration of the *Haluka*, an institution not found anywhere else, e.g.:

17. *key'lel* = כולל, a community composed of immigrants from a particular *country*, as כולל אוגאון 'the community of Hungary', כולל הו"ד 'the community of Holland-Deutschland (of which הו"ד is an abbreviation); or from a *region*, as כולל רייסן 'the community of White Russia'; or from a *town*, as כולל ווארשא 'the community of Warsaw', כ' מינסק 'the community of the city of Minsk'.

18. *vaad kol hakey'lelim* = ועד כל הכוללים, 'Committee of all the Communities', or "Central Committee of the United Jewish Congregation in Jerusalem", as it was called in the reports in English. This committee was constituted in 1882 for the purpose of centralizing all funds collected abroad and thereby strengthening the weak position of the separate בוללים.

Among the office-holders connected with the *Haluka* the following should be mentioned:

19. *memu'ne* (ממונה) ממונה, appointee, of honorable character, but enjoying unwritten privileges in connection with his share of the *Haluka*.

20. Another honorable position was that of the פקידים ואמרפלים (known by the abbreviation פקוא"מ) officers and counsellors, held by the representatives of the Ḥaluka in Amsterdam, Holland, the centre of this institution for Ashkenazim.

21. *ma'zkir vesoy'khn* = מוזכר וסוכן, a combined position of executive-secretary and accountant.

22. *soy'fer* = סופר, scribe, protocol secretary, whose duty was to take minutes of the meetings of the *va'ad* = ועד, committee of the *gab'ey cdoke* = גבאי צדקה, treasurers of the charity funds.

23. The maintenance of these funds depended largely upon the successful activities abroad of the *šada'r* = שד"ר, abbreviation of שלוחה דרבנן, emissary empowered by the Rabbis. He was a well-known figure among Jews abroad, wandering from community to community soliciting funds for the Jews in Palestine. An early emissary, Ḥayyim Isaac Carigal, arrived in Newport in 1773; he made a favorable impression on the Semitic scholar Ezra Stiles, then President of Yale College, to whom he was introduced (see George Alexander Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews*, New York, 1902, Index 145).

Some Hebrew usages originated in names of places in the Jewish quarters of Jerusalem, for instance:

24. The famous *khur've* [Heb. חורבה 'ruin'] -*šul*, the Synagogue named after R. Yehudah Heḥasid (see p. 34 above) is called "der alter *midra'š* = מדרש, the Old Synagogue, where the *study* [Heb. דרש] of the Talmudical law was pursued. \* *er hot nokh gelernt in altn midraš*, 'He still studied in the Old Synagogue', is said of one who spent his early years of study in the 'khurve-šul'.

However, the Synagogue Ša'arey Zion שערי ציון was known as "der *nay'er midra'š*", 'the New Synagogue'.

25. One of the streets leading to the mosque of 'Umar, *sūq el-qaṭṭānīn*, is called 'di *khnu'yes* [Heb. חנויות 'stores'] -*gas*, 'the street of the stores' [of cotton materials and textiles], or in its Yiddish name 'di *koldre-makher-gas*', 'the street of the quilt-makers'.

Additional names — in Appendix III, Nos. 31-35.

26. The Hebrew place-names or locations are pronounced with the accent on the penult, in conformity with the phonetic laws of Yiddish, e.g.: *bey's-yisro'el* = בית-ישראל, *zi'khren-mey'se* = זכרון-משה, *yemi'n-mey'se* = ימין-משה, *mey'e-šo'rim* = מאה שערים, *ma'khne-yehu'de* = מחנה יהודה, *na'khles-co'dek* = נחלת צדוק, all Jewish quarters in Jerusalem; *key'sl maro'vi* = כותל מערבי Western [Wailing] Wall; *khe'vren* = חברון; *mo'ce* = מוצא; *ri'sh leci'yen* (or abbreviated: *ri'sh*) = ראשון לציון; *zi'khren ya'kev* (or: *zi'khren*) = זכרון יעקב; *pe'sakh ti'kve* = פתח תקוה.

The same accent is heard in *rušela'yim* (or *rišela'yim*) = ירושלים, *ya'fe* = יפו, *tve'rye* = טבריה.

All the Hebrew words noted above belong to the Yiddish parlance of Jerusalem. They were not current among the Jewish farmers in the 'colonies', whose economic and social structure differed greatly from that of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish community.

Specific Hebrew words of a different nature, mainly in connection with agriculture, were common among the Jewish 'kolonistn,' e.g.:

27. *harko've* (הרכבה; pl. הרכבות), 'grafting' which was practiced particularly for citrus trees, as the *khuškhaš* (see No. 336), an orange grafted with the lemon.

\* *me darf makhn a harkove* (or: *harkoves*), 'grafting is to be done.'

The term *הרכבה* originates in Mishnaic Hebrew (cf. *Shevi'ith*, II, 6), and although it is not listed in Yiddish dictionaries, it was known in the Yiddish speech of scholars outside Palestine as well.

28. A similar term is *havro'khe* (הברכה; no pl. is available), literally 'bending.' This process is especially used with a branch of the vine, two-thirds of which is bent and covered with soil while the remainder is left above ground. Such a branch, which is not cut off from the 'mother' vine, takes root and in the course of time sprouts as a new vine. The usage in speech was

\* *me darf makhn an havrokhe*, 'a bending is to be done.'

The vocable הברכה is of late Hebrew origin and is listed by Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, II, 1030/b.

See also, in Vocabulary: אוזב (ey'zev) — No. 454 ; גמל (ga'ml) — No. 445 ; חרדל (kha'rdl) — No. 455 ; ישמעאלים (yišmey'lim) — No. 243 ; משך (me'sekh) — No. 221 ; נעלמים (nelo'mim) — No. 216 ; עמלקים (amoley'kim) — No. 243 ; פח (pakh) — No. 281.



## APPENDIX III

## CHARACTERISTIC YIDDISH WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

In the daily language of the Ashkenazim one may hear *specific Yiddish* expressions not current elsewhere, reflecting their mode of life, which has hardly changed in generations. Some of them, arranged in order of the Yiddish alphabet, follow:

1. אויסטרעג (oystrog), amount of work carried out.  
 \* men hot iber di pey'alim [פועלים] geštel't mašgi'khim [משגיחים] akhtung cu gebn af dem *oystrog* fun zeyer arbet, 'Overseers have been appointed to supervise the amount of work carried out by the workers.'

2. אונטערהאלט (unterhalt), entertainment (Cf. Harkavy, *Dictionary*, 32).<sup>1</sup>

3. אטקחען (atkhayen), to revive, to recover (Harkavy, 37). — It originates in Polish *oddychać*, Russ. *otdykhat'*, with the same meaning.

\* di šof *atkhayen* zakh haynt nokh di greyse regns, 'The sheep are revived today, after the heavy rains.'

4. איינברען (aynbren), a culinary expression from Jerusalem: some *šires* (see Vocabulary, No. 311) is heated on the stove, and then flour mixed with it while still on the fire. This *aynbren*, mixture, is then used, for instance, to fill a *heldzl*, skin of the neck of a fowl (a different meaning is listed by Harkavy, 45).

5. אירע (ire), 'a group of persons', heard everywhere in

1. I refer to Harkavy, *Dictionary*, where a word is listed, among others, with the same or similar meaning.

the Old Yishuv, even among Jews from Lithuania where the word is not current.<sup>2</sup>

6. אָפּטאַקסירן (optaksirn), to decide, settle (other than Harkavy, 74) — For its use in phraseology, see Vocabulary, No. 18.

7. אַראַנדזשירן (arandžirn), <sup>1</sup> to arrange (Harkavy, 84), <sup>2</sup> to put in order, to adjust.

\* 1. dos yunge por-folk hot zakh šeyn arandžirt, 'The newly wed couple have already arranged themselves, settled themselves in'.

\* 2. mit di šleslakh vel ikh šeyn arandžirn, 'I will adjust the locks.'

8. בלעך (blekh), a tin-plate can (of standard size) to keep water in, for instance — see Vocabulary, No. 281.

9. גאַנעם ניסלאַך (ganey'dn nislakh), hazel nuts (liter. paradise nuts).

9a. געשיר (geši'r), appurtenances for the horse, including the harness, the saddle and the collar. It originates in German *Geschirr*, and although the Arabic vocable for it is 'idde, the Arab coachmen knew it by its Yiddish designation.

10. דוקנער (du'khener), a key'hen [כהן, priest, 'descendant' of the priestly race, in accordance with a traditional division in Israel] making the priestly benediction (in Num. 6: 24-26), a Palestine custom exercised daily in the morning prayers.

Of one of these *dukheners*, R. Yisroel Hayyim Cohen, who possessed a beautiful and strong voice, Ephraim Cohen-Reiss relates in his reminiscences (מזכרונות איש ירושלים, 27): "If he had stayed in [his home town] Vilno, he would surely have become the "štot-bas" [the first bass in town], but instead he chose to be the "dukhener" at the [prayers at the] Walling Wall... R. Yisroel-Hayyim remained the "priest at the Wall" (הכהן של הכותל) until the last day of his life."

11. דורכשלאַק (durkhšlak), strainer, especially for boiled noodles.

2. On *ire*, see Max Weinreich, *Yidishe Filologye*, I (1924), 50, and Noah Prilutzki, *ibid.*, 213.

This vocable is also listed by Harkavy, 168/b, and in the form דערנשלאק it is noted by I. M. Lifšic, *yudeš-rusišer verter bikh* (Zitomir, 1876), 78/b, with the additional meaning צי מאכן לעכער, 'to punch holes.' It is likewise listed in his *Russko-Novoyevreyskiy Slovar* (Kiev, 1881), 295/b, as: proboynik. דער דערנשלאק, א שטיפט אָף דער צי שלאגען לעכער אין אייזען. 'a pin to punch holes in iron.'

In the form דורשל"ק (duršlak, of M. H. G. origin: durchslac), with the meaning of 'strainer', it is first mentioned in a Hebrew Halakic work ספר ראבי"ה (Sefer Rabbiah), by R. Eliezer b. R. Yoel Halevi, of the 12th century (Part One, Berlin, 1912, 376): וכן להוציאה על ידי דורשל"ק בלשון אשכנז.

12. דזשירירן (džirirn), endorse; דזשיראנט (džirant), endorser.

\* er'tokh [er hot dokh] *džirirt* dem veksl, 'He was the one who endorsed the promissory note.'

\* ikh bin *džirant*, iz gut? 'I am the endorser, does that satisfy you?'

הורדוסשטיק — See Vocabulary, No. 353, cf. below, No. 18.

13. וויכטיק-מאכער (vikhtik-makher), one who puts on airs (liter. 'makes himself important').

14. זיסע וואטע (zise vate, 'sweet cotton'), sugar candy.

15. זמירער וויין (zmirer vayn), wine from Izmir (Smyrna), Turkey.

16. טראגע (trage), attire, dress.

\* ir geyt zakh ayer *trage*, un mir — undzere, 'You are accustomed to your attire, and we — to ours' (is an answer by Jerusalem Jews when asked about their traditional dress).

17. ים-לאַקשן (yam lokšn) — see Vocabulary, No. 459.

18. כותל מערבי שטיינער (keysl marovi šteyner, 'Wailing Wall stones'), stones of large size. Cf. Vocabulary, No. 353.

19. ליקל (likl), narrow street, side-street — used by Lithuanian Jews as well, otherwise only by Jews in Rumania and Western Galicia.

\* v'est zakh farnemen in *hkl* arayn, 'you will enter the side-street' (said when showing the way to someone).

20. לענדערייען (lenderayen), real estate, chiefly land, ground — used in plural only.

21. נומער (פלאץ) (numer [plac]), a specified parcel of land for a house, used also to designate the residents in a quarter.

22. סטויפ (stoypp), fool (Harkavy, 336).

\* a *stoypp* mit cvey eygn, 'A fool with two eyes'.

ספארד, ספארדקע (sfard, sfardke) — see Vocabulary, No. 233.

23. ענטפערן (entfern, liter. to answer, reply), to receive.

\* ven entfert der dokter? der dokter entfert fun azeyger cen biz cvef, 'What are the doctor's office hours [liter. when does the doctor receive (patients)]? His hours are from 10 to 12'.

פאלעטע, פאלעטער, פאלעטיק (palete, paleter, palečik) — see Vocabulary, No. 357.

פלאכישע קאפ, פלאך (plakh, plakhiše kop) — see Vocabulary, No. 243-244.

פרענקיש, פרענקינע, פרענק(ן) (frenk(n), frenkine, frenkis) — see Vocabulary, No. 233. See also: פרענקל (frenkl) — *ibid.*; פרענקישע קאלע (fre'nkiše ka'le) — No. 235.

24. צוקערבערג (cukerberg), dry cakes, served chiefly with tea.

25. קאטשעדא'ך (kačeda'kh), roller for removing rain water from the flat rooftops — a word composed of קאטשען (kačen), Russ. *kačat'*, to roll, and דאך (dakh), roof.

This roller was originally designed for pressing the plaster over the roof. In the Mishnah it is called מעגילה, a stone for rolling over a plastered roof, the Arabic names for it being *daḥḍal*, and *ḡilḡāl* (in Hebron; cf. *BW*, 376: *Dachwalze*). It was used to be current among Jews as well as Arabs, from whom it was borrowed by the Old Yishuv. It consists of a cylindrical stone, about three feet long, hollowed out in the center, through which passes an axle attached to a two-pronged handle.

The following is a description of the "kačedakh":

1. From the year 1817: "And now when it rains in the holy city of Safed — may it be rebuilt and reestablished — they roll the roofs with stones to press the clay so that it would not split and rain could come in. In the other cities there is no need for it because they plaster the roofs with a material which lasts a long time and everywhere they walk on the roofs in their length and breadth, and they erect booths upon them as well." <sup>3</sup>

2. Jerusalem, 1831: "Its houses are beautiful, without (tiled) roofs and only with a paving... which appears as glazed. This is done to prevent the rain-water from softening the clay of the paving so that it drops below. In the other cities they do not make use of the paving, and to protect the roofs from rainfall they smooth the clay with a roller to harden it like stone." <sup>4</sup>

26. קאכער (kokher), tea-pot.

27. קארדופל (kardupl), a corpulent person of small stature. The diminutive is *kardu'pele* (cf. Harkavy, 446).

28. שטעטל (štetl, small town), a quarter in a town.  
\* in velkhn štetl veynt ir?, 'In what quarter do you live?'

29. שפרייזער (šprayzer), a pen.

30. Jerusalem Jews pronounce *bubl'te'k*, *bule't*, *pupi'r* instead of *bibliotek*, 'library', *bilet*, 'ticket', *papir*, 'paper', and *melici'n* (see Vocabulary, No. 454), *koledo'r* for *medicin*, 'medicine, remedy', *koridor*, 'corridor, lobby'.

Some places in Jerusalem are known by the following names:

31. *di štot*, the City, refers to the Old City of Jerusalem, and parts *outside* it are called '*oyserhalb der štot*'.

32. *ya'fer teyer*, Jaffa Gate, on the west of the Old City, in Arabic باب الخليل *bāb el-ḥalīl* (Hebron Gate). The differing function of this gate for the two communities appears in its name: to Jews the highway through it leads to Jaffa, and to Arabs — it leads to Hebron; Ar. خليل, 'friend', an abbreviation of خليل الله 'friend of allāh', as the patriarch Abraham is known to the Arabs.

3. ספר תבנת ירושלם (Jerusalem, 1844). 9a.

4. *Sepher Koroṯh Ha'ittim* (Jerusalem), 1931), 9a.

33. *ci'yener* [צײן + suffix -er] *barg*, Mt. Zion, to the south of the Old City, leading to the *ci'yener teyer*, Zion Gate, Ar. باب داود *bāb dāud*, (Gate of [King] David), following a popular tradition that the kings' tombs of the Davidic dynasty are located here.

34. *škhemer gas*, the street leading from *škhemer teyer*, Damascus Gate, in Arabic باب العمود *bāb el-'amūd* (Gate of the pillars) from the north of the Old City to its south. It is one of the main thoroughfares in Old Jerusalem, crossing the length of the vaulted market, dividing the Christian quarter to the west and the Moslem quarter to the east, and then passing through the Jewish quarter to the city wall. In recent years Jews have abandoned the street, where they owned property (see Appendix II, No. 16).

35. *di finctere kleytn*, 'the dark stores', located at the *škhemer gas*, and *khevrenen gas*, 'street of the chain', in the vicinity of the mosque of 'Umar. The vaulted ceiling over these stores casts a deep shadow, hence their name.

36. The open space near the Sephardic synagogue R. Johanan b. Zakkai (also known as קהל ציון) in Old Jerusalem was called דער מײדאָן (*der meyda'n*, 'the m.').

37. The area in the Christian quarter of Old Jerusalem where a hospital and a pilgrims' hospice were situated was known as דער מאַרעסטאָן (*der maresta'n*, 'the m.').

*koldre-makher-gas* — see Appendix II, No. 25.

*rusišer plac* — see Vocabulary, No. 265.

*batrak* — see Vocabulary, No. 264.

*salvan* — see Vocabulary, No. 245.

See also in Vocabulary:

איבערצאָר (ave'kšikn in a'ke) — No. 209 ; פּעטרישקע (iberayo'r petriške) — No. 15 ; אָנסע (o'nse) — No. 402 ; אָפּגעכאַמסעט (o'pgekhamset) — No. 152 ; אָפּשערעניש (o'pšereniš) — No. 134 ; אַשכּנאָזערקע (aškena'zerke) — No. 236 ; גאַנעדין־וואַסער (ganey'dn-vaser) — No. 464a ; הייבל (hay'bl) — Chap. XI: clothing ; ווילדע ציבעלע (vi'lde ci'bele) — No. 454 ; חבשער, חבישע, חבשניאָ (kha'bešer, kha'biše, khaba'sniau) — No. 242 ; טאָלער (to'ler) — No. 400 ; טאָמאַטע, טאָמאַטע (to-ma'te, ~s, toma'tn) — No. 323 ; טערקן (terk~n) — No. 243 ;

טערקישער קיסר (te'rkišer key'ser) — No. 170; יאַזמע (ya'zme) — Chap. XI: clothing; יאַפער מאַראַנען (ya'fer mara'ncn) — No. 336; יאַלעקשן (yam-lo'kšn) — No. 459; מוגראַבער (mu'graber) — No. 240; סומסום-בייגל (su'msum-bey'gl) — No. 469; ראַטל (ro'tl) — No. 403; רוינוואַסער (roy'znvaser) — No. 457; שוואַרצער, שוואַרצע (šva'rce, šva'rce) — No. 15; תימנער סמאַרע (tey'mener nakhs, t~er sma're) — No. 238.

Palestinian Yiddish, that of Jerusalem in particular, is rich in idiomatic and proverbial sayings reflecting to a large degree the accumulated wisdom of generations. Some of these sayings are of a general nature, recalling with their sharp flavor of expression and their play on words the proverbial utterances of the Jews in the Diaspora. In the setting of Palestine, however, the exoticism of the peculiar conditions prevailing is added. The local scene, so very different from that abroad, found apt expression in the sayings. Above all, they formed an integral part of the Yiddish language in Palestine, which has not yet received complete study.

The following proverbial sayings, noted by the author in Jerusalem, are only 'a drop in the bucket.' They were taken down from direct conversation, and wherever possible the attempt was made to place them in the context of the related situations and circumstances. Here they are divided into sayings of a general nature; sayings reflecting the local scene; and sayings reflecting a way of life that has in the meantime changed and is disappearing altogether. They are given in Yiddish, followed by an English translation and explanatory notes.

The following are of general nature:

1. אַז מע גייט אַקעפּאַנדערעס [= קפּנדריאַ], גייט מען אויף צרות.

'He that walks on a side road, treads the path of misery.' Following on this, one is advised as to what to do.

2. מע דאַרף גיין יאַם דוגרי!

'One has to walk straight!' (on the road of righteousness). Concerning *yam dugri* — see Vocabulary, No. 4. A Yiddish proverb has it: אַז מען גייט גלייך, פאַלט מען ניט. 'He that walks straight will not stumble' (Ignaz Bernstein, *yudiše šprikhverter un redensarten*, Warsaw, 1908, No. 862).

3. אַ חזן שמעקט און לעקט פארן דאוונען.

'A cantor sniffs and licks before the services.' This saying has a metonymical meaning, for the Yiddish *far* is both the preposition 'before' and the conjunction 'because.' The proverb thus means that a cantor prays because he has to eat, as expressed also in the proverb דעם דאוונען פאר עסן, noted by Bernstein, *ibid.*, No. 1548.

A similar proverb, with a *double entendre* in its play on words, is quoted by Šim'on Einhorn, משלי-עם בידיש (Tel Aviv, 1959), No. 775: 'בסער עסן פארן דאוונען איידער דאוונען פארן עסן' 'It is better to eat before praying than pray because of eating.'

Another proverb states bluntly: אַ חזן זינגט ניט אומזיסט 'A cantor will not sing gratis' (*ibid.*, No. 407).

4. אַ סך ווייץ און אַ לערער שפּאַכער [= שפייכלער].

'Much wheat and an empty granary' — is said of a man with much knowledge of the Torah and Talmud but with little practical experience of life.

The proverb was popular in Jerusalem among Hungarian Jews in criticism of young newly-wed wives who were adequately supported by their husbands, members of the Hungarian *kolel*, but who were inexperienced in managing their households.

5. געשמעקט, געלעקט און געגעסן — איז אַלץ איינס.

'To sniff, to lick, or to eat — is all the same.' This proverb has also a *double entendre*.

6. די וועלט איז אַ רעד; מע דארף זיך נאר קענען דרייען.

'The whole world is (like) a wheel; one should not only know how to turn (himself, namely, to come and go). Although this proverb is of general nature, it was applied in Jerusalem to the emissaries sent to Jewish communities abroad to collect funds for the assistance of the Old *yishuv* in Palestine.

The first half of this proverb is contained in the Midrashic saying ... עלמא מדמי לגלגלא דאנטילא, 'the world is like a pumping wheel ...' (ויקרא רבה, לד. י').

7. דער טאג לאכט אויס די נאכט.

'The day laughs at the night.' I do not know the meaning



of this proverb or its application. It is possibly of Hasidic origin (of the school of Braslav?).

8. זיי אלע מאָל ליבער דער צווייטער איידער דער ערשטער.

'Be rather second than first,' and thus learn from the experience of others, or enjoy the benefit of אַחרון אחרון חביב 'the best comes last' — a proverb made popular by Rashi's comment on Genesis 33: 2.

9. ער קלערט צי ס'איז פדאי געווען ער זאל געבוירן ווערן און צי ס'איז פדאי ער זאל שטאַרבן.

'He ponders on whether it was worthwhile to have been born and whether it is worthwhile to die' is said of one engaged in idle thoughts.

In Jerusalem this proverb was applied to the behavior of Asher Leyb Brisk, a well-known 'character' in the Old Yishuv. He used to attend circumcision ceremonies, at which he usually took a drink, and immediately afterwards went to the old cemetery on the Mount of Olives in order to copy down epitaphs for his book חלקת מחוקק. Jerusalemites would say:

ער גייט צו בריתן צו זען צי ס'איז פדאי געבוירן צו ווערן און אויפן בית-הקברות — זען צי ס'איז פדאי צו שטאַרבן.

One may recognize a specific Palestinian coloration in the following proverbs:

10. דעם אייזל דערקענט מען אינעם גמל [= גאַמל] און דאָס קעלבל דער-קענט מען אין די קר.

'One can tell the donkey by the camel and the heifer by the cow' — of the behavior of children who follow in the footsteps of their parents: The yoking of a donkey with a camel was the practice of the leader of a caravan, who would ride the donkey on entering a town.

For another Jerusalem Yiddish proverb with a play on the words קעמל, 'camel,' and קעמל, 'small comb' (diminutive of Yiddish קאם, 'comb'), cf. Einhorn, *ibid.*, No. 786.

11. דעם מטר דערקענט מען שוין אינעם טל.

'One can tell the rain by the dew' expresses the eagerness of Jerusalemites for rain, which is wanted for filling the cisterns with the water that has to last for the rest of the year. Early morning dew is one of the signs by which fructifying rain may be predicted.

Many proverbs and sayings reflect a critical attitude to-

ward various groups of people, particularly in connection with conditions resulting from the practices of the Halukah institution in the Old *yishuv* in Jerusalem (concerning which, see above, pp. 72-73). Of these, I have noted the following:

12. דער אייבערשטער זאל אונדז אפהיטן פאר פייער און פאר וואסער און פאר יידן צפתער [צפאסער].

'May the Lord guard us against fire and water as well as against the Jews of Safed.' This is a specific Jerusalem saying expressing the long-standing antagonism felt towards the Safed community and its unfair distribution of the Halukah donations. The element of mockery is emphasised in the rhymed sequence of *vaser / cfaser*.

13. מיט קיין קיר"ה מאַק זאָלסטו נישט איינגיין [= אין משא־ומתן]: דו וועסט ביי אים נישט פאַרדינען און נישט געווינען.

The words קיר"ה מאַק, the first of which is an abbreviation of the honorific קיסר ירום הודו, 'His Imperial Majesty,' normally used for the Austrian Emperor, were with קיר"ה פלאַקן, pejoratives used for *galicianer*, Jews hailing from Galicia, which was then part of the Austrian Empire. Thus, it expresses an attitude of distrust in them, with the warning 'do not enter into a deal with a *kire mok* [a Galician Jew]: with him you will neither earn nor win anything.'

The attitude toward Sephardic Jews is expressed in the following saying:

14. ער איז אַ ספרדי טהור, וויל ער דיר אויך מטהר זיין [אדער: מאַכן טהור] און צוגעמען דאָס ווייסלאַכץ פונעם אויג.

A few details in this saying call for clarification. The words ס'ט ספרדי טהור 'a pure Sephardi,' or their abbreviation ס'ט are added to the signature of a Sephardi Jew as a sign of self-esteem; the periphrastic verb מטהר זיין 'to purify,' is another euphemism for the combination of נקי מאַכן 'to clean up someone,' namely 'to deceive someone,' as in a business transaction, for instance. These are the actions of a shrewd fellow who is even able 'to take away the white of the eye.' The saying thus is intended to imply: 'He is a pure Sephardi, and therefore he wishes to make a clean sweep of you as well.'

15. די נאכט איז באַשאַפן געוואָרן פאר אפיקורסים.

'The night is made for heretics.' This is in clear contrast

to the Talmudical saying in *Erubin* 66a, with a slight change in the phrasing, לא איברי ליליא אלא לגירסא, 'the night is made for learning.'

I was told in Jerusalem that the Yiddish saying was employed to upbraid the famous scholar Abraham Moses Luncz who, because of lack of candles at night, used to study by moonlight and consequently became blind.

A similar saying is found with Martin Luther in his *Tisch-reden*: Die Nacht gehört die Ungläubigen.

16. עס איז בעסער צו זיין א ישיבה-מאן איידער א קלייטניק.

This saying emphasizes very simply the preference accorded a *yeshive-man*, i.e. a professional Talmud student who was assisted in his livelihood with larger sums of money from the Halukah. On the other hand, a *kleytnik*, 'a storekeeper,' hardly made a living. Therefore, the saying goes: 'it is better to be a Talmud student than a storekeeper.'

17. א קראגן קען אים שאטן צום כולל.

The attire of Jerusalem Jews was firmly bound by tradition. Details of it are given in chapter XI. Any deviation from the established standard was considered a sign of heresy, and it gave rise to the saying: 'a collar [that one wears] may hurt his standing in the *koyl* [the religious-social group].'

18. ער האט חרטה וואס ער איז געבאָרן געוואָרן אין הורדנא [האָראַדנע = גראָדנע] און נישט אין מונקאטש.

Horodne is the city of Grodno, Lithuania, the *kolel* of which in Jerusalem was very small and poor. On the other hand, Munkacs, in Slovakia, formerly part of Hungary, belonged to *kolel Hungaria*, or *kolel shomre haḥomoth*. It was founded in 1858 in Jerusalem to support needy immigrants from Hungary and to promote religious studies in Palestine. The money distributed to the members of this *kolel*, usually at holiday periods, was more than that given to the members of *kolel Horodne*. Hence the saying: 'He regrets he was born in Horodne and not in Munkacs.'

The following is also related to this situation:

19. א קאָרגער צערט אַלע מאָל איין אפילו אַז ער איז אַן אונגערישער.

'A stingy person will economize even though he is a Hungarian.' As pointed out above, the members of the Hungarian

*kolel* received a considerable amount of Halukah, the monthly sum for a married couple before World War One being 50 francs. In addition the Hungarian *kolel* maintained the Talmudical schools אור זרחה (in the *ungerishe hayzer*, 'the Hungarian houses') and אוהל יצחק in the street of *di finctere kleytn* (see above in the word list, No. 35), not far from *keysl maro'vi*, כותל מערבי, 'the Wailing Wall.'

It is to be noted that the Yiddish verb איינצערן has the meaning of 'saving, to economize' besides 'to consume.'

20. דער ממונה זאל עס קענען פארצערן וואס ער גיט מיר אויף ארבע כוסות.

This saying is based on the system of Halukah, the distribution of money to individuals according to their standing in the community, supervised by the *memune*, 'overseer' (see Appendix II, No. 19). The need was greater at the Passover season which called for extra money for *matzoth* and the four traditional cups of wine drunk on the nights of the *seder*. Hence this saying, which literally means: 'may the overseer consume as much as he appropriates for the four cups.'

Similar to the preceding, but with an ironic connotation, is the following, which reflects the authority of the *memune*:

21. איך האב ניש' קיין הויז, איך האב ניש' קיין פלאץ; איך האב נאר דעם "קוקערטע-קאפ", זאל לעבן.

'I have no house, I have no plot [to build on it]; I only have [over me] the 'kukeritse-head'.'

Thus members of the Galician *kolel* Hibath Yerushalayim used to complain about their unhappy lot and about the *memune* of the *kolel*, R. Hirsh Shreiber of Drohobicz, whose nickname was *kukeritse-kop*, literally 'head of a hen,' usually bestowed on a simpleton.

A not uncommon, but still characteristic, feature of the Jerusalem Yiddish were the nicknames given certain persons, reflecting in part the economic and social conditions of the Old Ashkenazic community in the last decades of the 19th century. Some of these are noted by Joseph Joel Rivlin in his book מאה שערות mentioned above (see Vocabulary, No. 465).

The following appellations denote the occupations of their bearers:

ר' יצחק בלעכער 'R. Yickhok the tinsmith' (*ibid.*, p. 162):

likewise, 'ר' מנחם בלעכער, 'R. Menahem the tinsmith' is also mentioned (*ibid.*).

ר' מנדל גרובר ווקאך, 'R. Mendl Gruber the overseer' on construction work (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 186). Concerning *vakaf*, see Vocabulary, No. 373.

ר' בערל זיגערמאכער, 'R. Berl [diminutive of Ber, Hebrew דוב 'bear'] the watchmaker,' namely 'repairer of watches.'

ר' מאיר קאווערענער, 'R. Meir the coffee-roaster,' his surname was Piekarsky (pp. 55, 206). Likewise listed by the same occupation is ר' אברהם ראזנטאל קאווערענער, 'R. Avrohom Rosental the coffee-roaster,' the first producer of candy in Jerusalem (*ibid.*, p. 164).

ר' משה-לייב קאלכער, 'R. Meyshe Leyb the lime-burner' (p. 133), who established the first lime kiln in Jerusalem.

A different group of appellations reflect some aspect of the bearer's behavior or some special characteristic which struck his neighbors. Among these are:

ר' בערל טענצער, 'R. Berl the dancer' (*ibid.*, pp. 77, 186), so named because he excelled in dancing at festivities of a religious nature.

ר' איצע דער יאָר-איידעס [=עדות] (*ibid.*, p. 162), 'R. Ice [=Itse, changed form of Hebrew יצחק 'Isaac'] the hired witness' who was always ready to testify in any case before the courts. The literal meaning of the Yiddish-Hebrew feminine noun עדות 'testimony' has undergone a double change in gender and meaning, resulting in 'witness.'

ר' חנא די כשרע בהמה, 'R. Khone the *kosher* cow' (p. 166), called so for his naïveté. In occupation he was cleaner of the sewers in the Meah Shearim quarter.

Hebrew בהמה in its Yiddish usage is literally 'domestic animal, cow' and figuratively 'simpleton, fool,' while the combination כשרע בהמה means 'a naïve person.'

A certain R. Fishl was known as "דער מעלה-גרה" (*ibid.*, p. 162), usually used of a glutton 'whose mouth does not shut.'

This is another figure of speech: Biblical מעלה גרה, 'that chew the cud' (Leviticus II: 4, 5) is one of the characters defining 'clean animal' proper to slaughter for eating. In Yiddish it has assumed the above semantic meaning.

„דער מיטן גלעקל" (*ibid.*, p. 77) was

the appellation given to an early settler, R. Hillel Rivlin, because of the alarm bell with which he summoned help when needed.

ר' דוב נוס-בישליק 'R. Dov half a bishlik' (*ibid.*, p. 167) was named so for his stipulating this small Turkish coin in advance for his services as a messenger for the neighbors. — For *bišlik*, see Vocabulary, No. 394.

ר' שלום תהלים-זאגער 'R. Sholem the Psalm reciter' (p. 172) was by occupation a house-painter and the head of חברת תהלים (the Society for Reciting Psalms). He also would make the call to morning prayers with the admonishing words קומו נא 'get up, wake up, you sleepy ones, to the service of the Creator!'

Two specific appellations testify to the effort made by some of the Yishuv to revive Hebrew as a spoken language in daily use. These are:

ר' יענקלה בעל לשון הקדש (ibid., p. 173, 220), 'R. Yankele [diminutive of Yankev = Jacob] who speaks the Holy Tongue'.

אברהם העברי (ibid., p. 174), 'Abraham the Hebrew' (an allusion to Genesis 14:13) who like the preceding spoke only Hebrew in his daily life.

Of women, the following are noted:

דבורה די מעלערקע 'Dveyre [Deborah] the flour woman', the owner of a mill in the Ḥabad Street in Old Jerusalem (*ibid.*, p. 156).

ריינע די רעבעץ 'Reyne the *rebbe*n' (p. 162), called so not because her husband was a *rebbe*, or *melamed*, 'a teacher,' but because she herself was a *rebbe*n, a lady-teacher who maintained a *kheyder*, an elementary school for girls.

חיה שיינע 'לפידות' (*ibid.*, p. 172), named so for her preparing candles in honor of the Sabbath and distributing them free of charge.

This appellation alludes to the Midrashic interpretation of the Biblical אשת לפידות concerning Deborah (Judges 4:4), known especially from the commentary of Rashi, according to which she prepared candles for the Temple.

## APPENDIX IV

## DOCUMENTS

1. *Excerpts from the Manuscript "The Pinkas of Jerusalem"*

The following excerpts are culled from the *Pinkas of Jerusalem* (see pp. 18-21, and description thereof in Bibliography), a manuscript of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. The entries are variously dated, beginning with the year 1612. They concern the Ashkenazic Jewish community of Safed (and in a few instances that of Jerusalem as well as Tiberias and Hebron) and render a picture of the communal conditions prevailing there at the beginning of the 17th century.

The entries are copied exactly as they are written in the *Pinkas*, line by line. Sometimes, a double diagonal // separates one line from the other following it. In all, twelve entries, dating from 1612 to 1620, are copied from this manuscript.

Some passages, personal names and place names are underscored by this author.

Each entry is preceded by a brief summary in English.

## 1. Folio 137/b:

This entry is the conclusion of the text a reduced facsimile of which is reproduced on page 19. It is of the year 1612, and enumerates, among other things, the expenses incurred by the writer in connection with his trade in cheese and those paid perhaps to the Arab workers who assisted him in trans-

porting him from the *hān* (see Vocabulary, No. 420) supervised by a *maquadem* (Ar. *muqaddam*, 'supervisor').

עוד ממעות מהר"ר פאלק שמגיע לק"ק ירושלים ע"ה תוב"ב עשרים ותשעה  
גרוש וחצי גרוש... רביעית גרוש מחצי  
גרוש הנזכר הוצאתי על הגבינה שקניתי להר"ר בנימן הנ"ל כי סך כל הגבינה  
שקניתי להר"ר בנימן הנ"ל הם ששה  
גרוש ורביע גרוש עו/ פורתי רביעית גרוש על דברים קטני/ אחת לאחת למצוא  
החשבון קניתי  
מחט עו/ חבל לתפור השקים עו/ לעמל שנושא את המשאות על כתפו מז החאן  
לביתי עו/ רביעי/  
גרוש למוקאדים שהוא הממונה על הרצים כמנהג

## 2. Folio 137/b:

This is an additional expense account of the year 1613. Mention is made here of money received from Prague to be distributed among Ashkenazim of Safed and Jerusalem.

An interesting item in this account is "five Thaler Halukah for the true erudite", Rabbi Yom Tov Cahalun, known by the abbreviated name (מהריט"ץ). He was a Sephardic scholar, author of *Responsa* (Venice, 1694), and of *Magen Aboth*, a commentary on Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, still in manuscript. He was born in 1557 and died in 1638.

עו/ בשנת השע"ג ליצירה קבלתי ל"ג טאליר השייכי/ לק"ק אשכנזי/  
שבירושלי/ ע"ה תובב מק"ק האשכנזי/ שבצפת תוב"ב  
ע"י מהר"ר ישראל אורי נ"י וזה חשבונם  
הוצאתי ה' טאליר וחצי על הרץ ששלחתי לתועלתם על ענין הנידוי  
עו/ ג' טאלי/ לפעסיל עו/ שני טאליר וחצי לי הכותב לחשבון המעות ששלח  
לנו חיים שמש מפראג  
עו/ עיכבתי ב' טאליר בידי להשלים לפעסיל הה' זהובי/ ששלח לנו חיים שמש  
מפראג הבא לחלקה ושנדע החשבון  
עו/ ג' טאליר לרוחמה להוצאת הדרך שיסייעו לה ק"ק ירושלי/ כי כן צויתי  
לשלחה שם  
עו/ ה' טאליר לחילוק החכם השלם מוהר"ר יום טוב צהלון נרי/ עו/  
חצי טאליר לסופר ולשמש על הכתבי/ ששלחנן/ רבני העיר  
בשנת השע"ג ליצירה קבלתי תשעי/ גרו/ מרבני העיר לחשבון ק"ק אשכנזי/  
שבירושלי/ ע"ה תוב"ב [עיר הקודש תבנה ותכונן במהרה בימינו] ממעותיהם  
שבא ביד רבני  
העיר. וזה חשבונם שבעים גרו/ שלחתי מזומני/ עו/ ח/ גרוש מזומן ביד הר"ר  
דוד ממערין



This is followed by a detailed account of the cheese transactions by the writer of the *Pinkas*.

### 3. Folio 140/a:

A brief list of letters despatched to the Jewish community of Frankfurt a. Main and its dignitaries, the most famous among them being Rabbi Isaiah Sheftls Segal [Horowitz] (on whom see p. 25), who officiated there between the years 1606-1614. This entry follows another one of the year 1617.

לוראנק בורט  
 כתב לק"ק יצו/ [לקהילה קדושה ישמרה צורה וגואלה].  
 כתב למהר"ר ישעיה שעפטיל שסגל יצו/  
 כתב למהר"ר יוזפא בן מהרר פנחס ז"ל  
 כתב לדודי אשר לוי תלמידי אשר  
 נקבי' בשם. כה"ר קאפיל לוי יצו' ואחיו  
 כה"ר יעקב לוי יצ' הדרי' בק"ק וראנקבורט  
 עוד כתב לאחיו כה"ר סענדיר לוי  
 הדר בעיר וימפא יצו/

### 4. Folio 142/a:

This entry includes a most interesting list of nine Jewish communities (eight in the Ottoman Empire and one in Italy) with whom contacts were maintained by the Ashkenazic Jewish community of Safed. Some of the recipients of the letters were eminent Sephardic rabbis, namely: R. Yehiel Basan, R. Joseph Mitrani, R. Yom Tov ibn Ya'ish, R. Joshua Soncin, R. David de Botton, R. Astruc ibn Sangi, R. Aaron Hason, R. Mordecai Kala'i, R. Meir de Botton.

These nine communities are (by their Hebrew names followed by transliteration and identifications):

סטמבול, סופיאה, אובן, שאלוניקי, גאליפולי, אנדרנפולי, פלעבנה, וידן, איספאלטו.  
 Stambul (Turkish: estambul), Constantinople; Sofia, Bulgaria; Ofen, Hungary; Salonica, Greece; Galipoli (Turkish: gelibolu); Adrianople, Turkish Thrace; Plevna, now Pleven, Bulgaria; Vodena, now Edessa, North-eastern Greece; Spoleto, South-east of Perugia, Italy.

## ס ט מ ב ו ל

החכם השלם מהר"ר משולם לוי נרו/ [נטריה רחמנא וקיימיה]  
 החכם השלם מהר"ר יחיאל באסן נרו/  
 החכם השלם מהר"ר יוסף מטראני נרו/  
 החכם השלם מהר"ר יום טוב אבן יעיש נרו/  
 החכם השלם מהר"ר יהושע שונצין נרו/  
 הגביר המרומם ירום ונשא זקן ונשוא פנים השר והטפסר כה"ר ישראל אשכנזי  
 נרו/

הגביר המרומם ירום ונשא השר והטפסר כה"ר משה  
 ׳ יעיש נרו/ חתן הגביר כה"ר יוסף אשכנזי נרו/  
 החכם השלם מהר"ר דוד די בוטון נרו/  
 החכם הנעלה כמה"ר יצחק ב"ר גרשון אשכנזי  
 עו/ כתב לחברה הקדושה שולחי הלהבשה יצו/  
 עו/ כתב לקרובי כה"ר ישראל יצו/ ובנו כה"ר חיים יצו/

## ס ו פ י א ה

כתב לק"ק [לקהילה קדושה]  
 כתב להחכם השלם כמוהר"ר ישראל ב"ר יעקב ז"לה"ה [זכרונו לברכה לחיי  
 העולם הבא]  
 עו/ להחכם הנעלה מוהר"ר יהודא ב"ר נפתלי שליטא [שיחיה לאורך ימים טובים  
 אמנ]

וגיסו החכם הנעלה מה"ר ישראל איסרלי ב"ר מנוח שליטא  
 עו/ כתב למהר"ר יעקב ב"ר משה ז"ל ה"ה מאדרנופלי [למטה דשום ונמחק:  
 דמתקרי חכם ר' יאקל נרו/]  
 עו/ כתב להרב הגדול החכם השלם שלם בכל השלמיות מה"ר  
 אישתרוק אבן שאנגי יצו/

## ל א ו ב ן

כתב לק"ק [לקהילה קדושה]  
 כתב לאחותי מושקט  
 ל שא ל ו נ י ק י  
 להרב המובהק והכולל מוהר"ר אהרן חסון נרו/  
 ובנו החכם השלם מוהר"ר שלמה נרו/  
 והחכם השלם חסיד ועניו מהר"ר מרדכי לבית קלעי יצו/  
 ועמיתי ורעי החכם השלם מהר"ר אליעזר בר מנחם גבריאלי נרו/  
 והחכם השלם מוהר"ר שאול אשכנזי נרו/  
 ואביו נרו/  
 ובנו החכם הנעלה כמה"ר אהרן נרו/  
 ואחיו כה"ר מאיר הגבאי שלי  
 והחכם השלם כמוהר"ר שניאור ייחייא נרו/  
 וכתב לק"ק האשכנזי/ שבשאלוניקי יעא [יגן עליה אלקים]

לגאליפול  
 כתב להחכם השלם // האלוף התורני מוהר"ר // מאיר די בוטון גרו/  
 וכתב לאחיו ה"ר יעקב די בוטון  
 לאנדרנולפלי  
 כתב לשתי הקהילות  
 כתב להתגביר כה"ר יצחק בר אברהם הלוי // מינץ ז"ל ה"ה  
 עו/ כת/ לר' מרדכי // בר אל צפן הלוי  
 פלבה  
 כתב להקהל  
 עו/ כתב להחכם השלם מוהר"ר לעב בן מוהר"ר דוד הכהן ולה"ה  
 וידין  
 כתב להתגביר/  
 עו/ כתב לגיסי החכם ר' מענדלי יצו/  
 ולגיסי כה"ר זלמונה  
 לאיספאלטו  
 כת/ להקהל וכתב לר' רוסף בן מהר"ר צבי ז"ל ה"ה  
 [באותו דף נמצאת תוספת, בקולמוס עבה יותר, אך בכתב האשכנזי הדומה  
 לאותו של כותב הפנקס]:  
 לזכרון שיש לנו קרובי/ באשכנז בק"ק ברעטועלד מוהר"ר // מרדכי  
 בן הר"ר אברהם פליף ז"ל. עו/ בישוב הירדורף // הר"ר אהרן בר  
 יצחק פליף ז"ל ה"ה  
 [אברהם פליף נזכר ברשימה הבאה כשהוא עודנו בחיים, בקשר עם מכתב  
 שנשלח לחתנו יעקב בירושלים. בה בא גם זכרו של הרב ר' יעקב פליף כמחברם  
 של ספרים אחדים].

##### 5. Folio 164/b:

One half of this paper folio was used as an envelope for a letter written by a mother to her son Jacob in Jerusalem. It is a woman's writing as may be seen from her mistakes in spelling, both in Hebrew and in Yiddish. As seen from the heading, the letter was written from Safed.

מקקשפעט  
 צו הנאד [האנד] מיין ליבין  
 שון [זון] כהרר יאקב [יעקב]  
 יצו חתן כמהרר  
 אברהם פילוז  
 לקק איר [עיר] המקדש  
 ירושלים [ירושלים]

We have here an additional example of the accepted formula used in the epistolary literature of that period, as we may see from similar inscriptions on the Yiddish letters, mainly those of Prague, written in 1619 (Cf. *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619*, published by Dr. Alfred Landau and Dr. Bernhard Wachstein, Wien und Leipzig, 1911, pp. 49, 27, 31, 39, 45, 46, 47):

צו הנט מיינע ליבן זון; צו הנט מיינר ליבה שווער; צו הנט מיינר ליבן מוט;  
צו הנט מיינר ליבה שוועסטער טאכטער; צו הנט מיינע הערצין ליבן ברודער; צו  
הנט מיין ליבה מעם.

The writers of the Prague letters are mostly women who express themselves in a lively and idiomatic Yiddish sprinkled with many Hebrew words and sayings.

The same may be said of the lady Rachel, daughter of R. Abraham of Prague, who wrote her Yiddish letters from Jerusalem in the year 1567 to her son Moshe מפילין, "scribe of phylacteries," in Cairo, Egypt. However, she wrote the address on a similar wrapper in Hebrew (Cf. Simha Assaf, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History* [Hebrew], Jerusalem, 1946, pp. 236, 237).

On the reverse face of the same wrapper of the letter from Safed someone has inserted, in a different handwriting, the following inscription about the "great Rabbi" Yaakov Palef, or Plef. Mention is made of the titles of his books, which are not registered in Jewish bibliographies:

אלו הם הספרים שעשה הרב // הגדול כמהר"ר יעקב פליף זל //  
גבורת יעקב נחלת יעקב פי' שם חדש זרע אברהם על...

We continue the excerpts from the *Pinkas of Jerusalem* with two illuminating entries of the years 1617-1618 and 1629 with details about the "House of Study", called in Hebrew among Sephardim הסגר (*hesger*, similar in meaning, but not in function, to the Yiddish *kloyz*) in Safed, with both Ashkenazim and Sephardim participating in the daily Talmudical lectures. The participants were elderly people and sicknesses afflicted them very frequently. In this connection we hear that payments were deducted from them for the duration of their illness.

We also hear about the assistance for the needy blind

and lame of Jerusalem as well as of payments to the students of Torah and the poor of Hebron, and of distribution of meat to the poor of Jerusalem.

All these details shed a new light on the mutual relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim of the Jewish community of Safed in the first half of the 17th century. Thus, the writer of the *Pinkas* himself registers, in a special note, the fact of studying "in the company of Rabbi Abraham de Botton" in the year 1617 (folio 140/a):

לזכרון שהתחלתי ללמוד בחברת מוהר"ר אברהם // די בוטון יצו/ מפ[רשה]  
וישלח השע"ז ליצירה

#### 6. Folio 143/b:

בסימנא טבא בס"ד [בסיעתא דשמיא] התחלנו ללמוד בהסגר של הזקן וגשוא פנים כה"ר נח ב"ר שלמה יצו/ מפרשת מה טובו אוהליך יעקב [פ' בלק]. ובכל חדש תשרי לא למדנו מפני ביטול המועדות

מהרר"א קאשטילאץ צריך לנכות מפ/ תבוא שנפל בחולי רגליו עד ר"ה השע"ח וכל תשרי לא למדנו בהסגר עו/

צריך לנכות מפ/ לך עד פ/ וירא ומחדש חשון לא למד יותר וצריך להוציא ממנו גרו/ וחצי

מהרר"א [אולי: ר' יהודה אריה ליב אשכנזי, הנזכר בפנקס, דף 139/ב] צריך לנכות מחשבונו שבוע שלפני ר"ה שהלך ללמוד במירון ועו/ צריך לנכות כשהלך לירושלי/

מפ/ ויקרא עד ערב פסח. עו/ צריך לנכות פ/ בחקותי ופ/ במדבר שהלך ללמוד במירון עו/ פ/ נשא שנפל

על ערס דוי עד סוף פ/ קרח. עו/ מפ/ נצבים וילך הלך למירון עד ר"ה. עו/ מפ/ נח לא בא ואח"כ הלך לירושלי/

תוב"ב [תבנה ותכונן במהרה בימינו] וצריך להוציא מחלקו משנה תמימה ששה גרו/ וחצי.

מוהר"ר יוסף חיים צריך לנכות מחשבונו בצירוף ג' ימי/ שנפל על ערס דוי וג' ימים בבניין

עוד צריך לנכות מפ/ ויצא שנפל על ערס דוי עד פ/ פקודי עו/ צריך לנכות פ/ בחוקתי

מחמת שהלך למירון עו/ בפ/ במדבר מחמת שהלך לק"ק טבריה עד סוף פ/ קרח. עו/ צריך לנכות מפ/ עקב

מחמת חוליו שנפל למשכב עד פ/ תבא שנפטר לבית עולמו וחיים שבק לכל ישראל וצריך להוציא

לו מחלקו משנה תמימה כ"ג שבועו/ דהיינו י"א גרו/ וחצי ומשנת השע"ז חייבים לו משנה שנייה בדא המעות ששה שבועות דהיינו ג' גרו/

מכל אילו הוציאנו תשעה עשר וחצי. ומוזה צריך להוציא גרו/ שנתנו לשמח/ בנו של מהר"ם קשטליץ. . עו/ ב/ גרו/ ביד חמותי לחלק כפי דעתה עו/ ב/ גרו/ להכותב בשכר טרחו. . ועו/ ב/ גרו/ וחצי בין השאר הלומדי/. ואלו הן הנקובים בשמות — — — להר"ר ליב צריך לנכות // כל ימי החורף // גם מר"ח אייר עד כ"ב לתמוז צריך לנכות להר"ש גאלנטי מפ/ בחוקתי // שהלך לצידון עו/ צריך לנכות להר"ש הריזי יצו/ י/ ימי/ לפני ר"ה גם משנה זו י/ ימי/ לפני ר"ה עו/ י/ לפני שבועו/

#### 7. Folio 170/a:

היום יום ב/ ח/ לאלול [מעל לשורה דשום: השפ"ט ליצירה] קבלנו מעות השפ"ח ליצירה והם סך גרושו/ מאתים וששים מאה גרושו/ להסגר וחלקנוהו לחכמי ההסגר שבצפת תו/ כי שלהם הם. . עו/ כ"ה לחלק פה ירושלי/ לעורי/ ופסחי/. עו/ ג"א גרו/ חלק מזון מורתי חמותי הרבני/ תנצב"ה עם חלק הי/ גרו/ של בתה שתחי/ עו/ מה ששולחות בנות כה"ר נח ז"ל דהיינו האנדיל טאלר וחצי ובנה יוסף חצי. מהר"ר עזריאל לוי פרח זהב. עו/ אשתו חיה שתחי/ טאלר מהר"ר מרדכי כ"ץ יצו/ טאלר. ובנו יצחק ואשתו מרים ה/ טאלר שמעון כ"ץ חתן זיסל א/ טאלר עו/ ב' גרו/ להדלקות מהר"ע ש בחברון דהיינו לפ/ ויצא ופ/ בהעלותך. עו/ ג/ גרו/ ושליש לחלק לבעלי תורה ולעניים ש בחברון עו/ ח/ להלביש ערומי/ עו/ שליש לביקור חולים עו/ גרו/ ושליש לחלק בשר לעניי האשכנזי/ עו/ גרו/ וחצי לר' אייזק עו/ גרו/ מבורית לעניי צפת עו/ ג/ רבעי גרו/ לנשואי יתומו/ עו/ חצי שליש מהולכת הבורי/ לצפת עו/ ב/ גרו/ חתי/ עו/ ב/ גרו/ וחצי למרים מבודון עו/ גרו/ לחלק עניים למנוחת הרבנית תנצבה

#### 8. Varia:

We conclude the excerpts from the *Pinkas of Jerusalem* with sundry notations concerning the writer, members of his family — among them his wife and mother-in-law — relatives, as well as friends. Some items shed light on the economic conditions of Safed in the first half of the 17th century. Thus, for instance, the writer bought a *ribayzn*, 'grater', as well as "iron forms" for cheese production, paying for the latter  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a *gruš*. He also bought a *tales*, Heb. *talith*, 'prayer

shawl,' and paid for it  $1\frac{3}{4}$  gruš, while for five volumes by R. Moshe Alshekh, author of a commentary on some books of the Bible, he paid approximately 7 gruš, which he had to borrow. For some loans he gave his wedding band and three golden rings as security.

# 1. דף 136/ב:

[א] [משנת שע"ב]: קבלתי ג/ פרחי/ זהב ע"י אורח כ"ר יאודה לוי אשכנזי פרעתי ג' גרוש וחצי לר' שמעון אורי בעד האתרוג/ וגרוש לקחתי לעצמי כי כן צוה עלי

[ב] עו/ קניתי ה/ חלקי/ מספרי החכם השלם הרב רבינו משה אל שיק ז"ל ה"ה מה"ר שמואל טארדייולי נרי ופרעתי ע"י שלייתי מהחכם השלם מוהר"ר חייא רופא לערך ז/ גרוש — —

[ג] עו/ [בשנת השע"ב] פורתי רביעי/ גרוש וקניתי חריצות של ברזל לגבינה.

[ד] עו/ רביע על הבאת הגבינה האחר לביתי ובכלל זה מה שנתתי לסרסור [ומעל לשורה נוסף] בעד הריבאייזין [= פומפיה].

[ה] קבלתי מר' אליה מתנה של רבני/ די פעס ט"ו גרוש וכל הגבינו/ קניתי מזה.

[ו] עו/ קניתי טלית ממה"ר אברה/ באדוך בעד גרו/ וג' רבעי/ ולא נשארתי חייב כי אם גרו/ ורביע.

[ז] מצאתי לזכרון להודיע אי"ה לר' יצחק סג"ל דיין חתן ר' ליב ר/ שמעונש משאר בשרי מהר"ר יעקב ב"ר חיים חתן ר' אברהם פליף [זה] האחרון נזכר על מעטפת המכתב, לעיל מס' 5 מהתעודות.

# 2. דף 139/ב:

שנת השע"ג ליצירה סוף תשרי

קבלתי ה/ גרו/ נדבת הגביר יקר ומעולה כ"ה"ר נח גר"ו מה ששלח לאשתי מב"ת [מנשים באהל תבורך]

עו/ גרו/ נדבת הר"ר עזריאל הלוי גרו/

עו/ גרו/ נדבת הבחור הנעים כה"ר משה בכה"ר טודרוס כ"ץ יצו/

עו/ קבלתי ה/ גרו/ חילוק מקהלינו ובכללם חלק מהט"ו גרו/ מהריח הגביר כה"ר נח גרו

עו/ קבלתי ה/ גרו/ נדבת החכם השלם מוהר"ר שאול אשכנזי גרו/

עו/ קבלתי מאה לבני/ נדבת עמיתי ורעי מהר"ר אליעזר בכמהר"ר מנחם גבריאלי גרו/

עו/ קבלתי שני פרחי זהב נדבת הגביר כהר"ר יוסף אשכנזי גרו/

עו/ גרו/ נדבת החכם השלם מוהר"ר יהושע שונצין גרו/

## 3. שט, שט :

[א] שנת השעד ליצירה קנתי בחש"מ [בחולו של מועד] דטוכות ב גרו/  
קמח ז/ מיריות [= זוהי צורה עברית של לשון רבים של מלה  
ביידיש: מיירע, 'מידת הקמח', שמוצאה כנראה בשפה סלאבית]  
וחצי.

[ב] ליתי מהחכם השלם הדיין המצויין מוהר"ר אברהם שלום גרו/ על  
משכון טבעת הקידוש / ב' טאליר.

[ג] עו/ ליתי ממהר"ר מאיר לעטויף ג/ גרו/ על משכון ג/ טבעות זהב.  
פרעתי למהר"ם הנו/ והוצאתי טבעת אחד ונשארו ב/ טבעות ביד  
הרר ליב אשכנזי יצו/

## 4. שט, שט :

[א] שנת השע"ד ליצירה עו/ נדבת הרב ר' בער ג/ גרו/ וג/  
רבעי גרו/

קבלתי ד/ גרו/ נדבת הגביר כה"ר יוסף אשכנזי  
יצו/ ונדבת מהר"ר יהושע שונצין יצו/  
עו/ ג/ טאליר/ חילוק מהט"ו טאליר/ הבאי/ מכהר נח יצו/  
עו/ גרו/ נדבת הר"ר איסרלי מסופיאה יצו/  
עו/ גרו/ נדבת מהר"ר מאיר די בוטון  
יצו/

עו/ גרו/ ממהר"ר מאיר לעטויף יצו/

[ב] מחמותי השע"ד ליצירה פרעתי רביע גרו/ עו/ פרעתי חצי גרו/ עו/  
רביע גרו/ ממה שאכלה עמי בימים האחרוני/ דפסח — —

## 5. דף 144/א :

[א] בשנת הש"פ קבלנו מאתם גרושי/ ישני/  
מהם קבלה חמותי שתחי/ השייך לה חמשים ושנים גרושו/  
ובהם חלק אשתי י/ גרו/

[ב] עו/ עשרי/ גרושו/ לחלק מדי שבוע  
עו/ שבעה גרושו/ לכלל ישיבות שבעיר  
עו/ שבעה גרושו/ לת"ת [לתלמוד תורה] להלביש ערומי/

[ג] עו/ שבעה גרו/

לישיבת ק"ק אשכנזי/ים]

עוד שבעה גרו/

לישיבת ירושלים



## 2. Excerpts from the Manuscript "The Pinkas of Tiberias"

Prior to its acquisition by the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, the manuscript פנקס טבריה (*The Pinkas of Tiberias*), Ms. 1791, Acc. No. 0190, was in the possession of the Sephardic historian Barukh Toledano. On the basis of the material in the manuscript, he published an article *L'Toldoth Yishuv Ha-Hasidim B'Eretz Yisrael* ("A Contribution to the History of the Hasidic Settlement in Palestine") in the Hebrew daily *Ha-Aretz*, Tel Aviv, No. 2437 (1927). To it he appended copies of eight documents from this Pinkas, including the excerpt from the letter of the Jewish community in Breslau, of the year 1791, quoted above, p. 85.

For the sake of completeness, I am reprinting the following two documents, first published in my article "Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine" (see, Bibliography) excerpts of which are quoted in English translation above, pp. 85-86.

### 1. Folio 1/a: Breslau Document of the year 1791.

רוח נסע מאת ה' ועל פנינו יחלוף להגוף גשם נדבות — ליושבי ארץ חפץ — והעם היושב עליה חזק הוא מגבורי כח עושי דברו יראי ה' וחושבי שמו. אפס כי עז הרעב בתוכה, נפשותם יבישה אין כל בלתי אם גוויותיהם, וחיהם תלויים להם מנגד אל כל יושבי תבל ושוכני ארץ ממזרח שמש עד מבואו. עיניהם כיונים אל ארובותיהם להריק להם ברכה. ובחרו להם ע"כ צירים נאמנים לשולחיהם המה יסובבו עיר ומדינה לכל מקום אשר יהי הרוח ללכת לדפוק דלתות הנדיבים להעיר לבותם. ה"ה הרב המופלג התמים מו"ה אברהם בהגאון מופת הדור מו"ה חיים יוסף דוד אזולאי נ"י וה"ה הרב המופלג גבר חכם בעז מו"ה אשר נ"י. ועוד זאת העירו לבב יחד חכמי ספרד ואשכנז כי השלימו להם חברתם אשר היו נפרדים עד עתה. וכעת יתלכדו יחדיו לחבר את אהלי שבתם להיות אחד. ואת חוקיהם הניתן להם מאת אחיהם מקופה אחת חלק כחלק יאכלו. למען לא יהיו למשא על בני ישראל היושבים בארצות ולא יתראו עוד כשני כיתות הבאים [כשתי כתות הבאות] כל פעם לבקש טרף הם לבדם והם לבדם.

— וגם אנחנו אחור לא נסוגים מלתת להם מנה יפה גם מקופת הקהל והיתה זאת למחסה ולמסתור להצמיח ישע ממזרח שמש וממערבה —.

היום יום ב' ד'ב' מנחם תקנ"א פה ברעסלא [טולידאנו קרא בטעות: היום י"ט מנחם אב].

הכ"ד האלופי רזוני' ומנהיגי' דפה הבאי' עה"ח.  
בפיתוחי חותם של הקהלה יצ'ו [כאן חותמת הקהילה בדונג אדום].

## 2. Folio 8/b: Berlin Document of 1792.

ב"ה

הנה גם פה הגיעו הרבנים המופלאי' המשולחי' מק"ק טבריה יע"א [יגן עליה אלקים] ה"ה הרב מו"ה אברהם אוולאי והרב מו"ה אשר הכהן אשכנזי שליט"א. ובאמת מאז לא עלה על דעתי שיהי' חל פירוד בין ישראל עם אחד הש"י [השם ישמרהו] אשר יחצו בארצותיהם לגוייהם ונקראו בשמותם עלי אדמות אשר הם גרים שם. כי גרים אנחנו בארצות. אבל אב אחד לכולנו וישראל גוי אחד בארץ אחים הם לא יפרדו. וכבר כתבתי בקשה זה לימים רבים בתחלת התייסד ק"ק [קהילה קדושה] טבריא יע"א. והנה אחר זה שמעתי דבת רבים חלוק לבבות בעו"ה [בעוונותינו הרבים]. וברוך השם אשר כעת החזירו הדבר ליושנה ושלחו שני משולחי' מספרדים ומאשכנזים מק"ק טבריא יע"א ובטלה המחלוקת. ולכן נתננו [נתנו] מהקופה סך חמשים אדומי' דהיינו מאה וחמשים ר"ט [רייכס טאלער] עם היות שכבר מעורב בתוכו גם מקופות הקטנות אשר כבר הופרש מתחלה לצורך האשכנזי' לבד כמבואר בכתבי' הראשוני'. מלבד אשר עדיין הי' מונח בקופות הקטנות כמבואר מעבר לדף בחי' [בחתומת יד] הקצין הגבאי יצ'ו והנאמן יצ'ו דקהלתינו. וגם אחינו המתנדבי' בעם הש"י בפירוש התנו שזה נדבת לבבם למען לא יחצו עוד ולא יהי' ח"ו [חס ושלום] פרוד ביניהם רק כיס א' לכולם. ומובטחני [ומובטחני] בכל מקום אשר ידרוך כף רגלי הגי' שלוחו דרחמנא לא ימנעו הטוב איש כברכת ידו משום ישוב א"י [ארץ ישראל] והי' ישמחנו בישועתו ויקבץ נדחי עמו ונוכה מהרה לעלות וליראות [ולראות] פני האדון ה' צבאות הכ"ד [הלא כה דברי] הכותב והחותם פה ק"ק [קהילה קדושה] ברלין יע"א ג' תשרי ישיע ציון ויבנה ערי יהודא לפ"ק הטרוד מצפה לתשועת ה' ונפשו חשקה להסתופף בבית ה' באדמת הקודש הק' צדוק פייבש

מהרב הגאון אב"ד ור"מ דק"ק הנ"ל [אב בית דין וריש מתיבתא דקהילה קדושה הנוכרת לעיל] א' רייכש טאליר לשם התנא אלקי רבי מאיר בעה"נ זיע"א [בעל הנס זכותו יגן עלינו אמן]

## APPENDIX V

ARABIC-YIDDISH VOCABULARIES  
(An Annotated Bibliography)

The following annotated bibliography includes various Arabic-Yiddish vocabularies which appeared abroad (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6) and in Palestine (Nos. 3, 7, 8, 9, 10). Of these, two are word-lists included in an itinerary (No. 1), and in a brochure of a periodical character (No. 7); while of two other editions, one is a textbook (No. 9), and the other serves a similar purpose (No. 4).

As may be inferred from the title pages or prefaces, they were designed with a practical aim, that of imparting the most necessary Arabic expressions and daily usages through the medium of Yiddish and a transliteration which conveys the approximate Arabic pronunciation. This aim is especially emphasized by the compilers who either visited or were residents of Palestine, familiar with the country and its inhabitants.

It may not be amiss to point out that three of these vocabularies appeared as a result of political developments: one (No. 2) was published in the wake of the anti-Jewish pogroms of the eighties of the 19th century in Czarist Russia, which brought about migratory movements to Palestine and elsewhere; another (No. 5) appeared as a consequence of the formation at the end of the first world war of the Jewish legion which served in the British army in Egypt and fought in Palestine; the third (No. 6) was published in the years following soon after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Jewish mass migration of 1920 from Rumania, Poland and Lithuania to Palestine.

The list, to be sure, is not complete, and a few more titles are still to be accounted for. Those listed, in chronological

order (some of them in my private collection), are described de visu.

Facsimiles of title pages or text pages of some items are reproduced in the text.

1. First to be noted in this bibliography is the word list of Arabic expressions and usages included in *Sepher Koroth Ha'ittim li[ye]šurun b'erec Yisroel*, the itinerary of R. Menahem Mendl Kamenicer, published two editions: Hebrew (Vilno, 1840) and Yiddish (Warsaw, 1841), 48 pp., 8°, into which it was translated, as pointed out on the title page, for the benefit of those who do not understand the "Holy Language" (לכן האבין מיר מעתיק גוועזין דעם ספר אויף לשון אשכנז פון וועגין דיא וואס קענין ניט לשון הקודש). A second Hebrew edition was published by R. Meir Anshin (Jerusalem, 1931).

The word list, entitled דיא שפראך פון ערבית (dia šprakh fun arowith), 'the Arabic language', on pages 23a-23b of the Yiddish edition, has already been discussed above (pp. 105-110) where the reader may find both Yiddish and Hebrew texts, followed by a translation in English. A facsimile of the two pages is reproduced on pp. 106-107.

The importance of this itinerary for the history of the Jewish community in Palestine was pointed out by Jonas Gurland, *Neue Denkmäler der jüdischen Literatur*, I, (Lyck, 1865), XXII-XXIII, and by Moritz Steinschneider, "Jüdische Schriften zur Geographie Palästinas", *Jerusalem*, edited by A. M. Luncz, 3-4 (1892), No. 82, and again in his *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden*, 1905, No. 282.

2. [זילבערמאן, ישראל]. ווערטער בוך / צו לעהרנען דיא אראבישע שפראכע / קיטאפ טאלים לאראט איל אראביע / וואס מען שפריכט אין פאלאסטיןנע (ארץ ישראל) עגיפטען (מצרים) / סוריא, באגדאד (בבל), מאראקא, אלגיר, טוניס / לייכט צו לעהרנען פאר קליין און גראסע / (ערשטער טהייל: קימט פאר אללע נעטהיגע ווערטער). / הערויסגעגעבן פון ישראל זילבערמאן / אדעססא ... 1882. 24 עמ', 8°.

Zilberman, Israel. Dictionary / for the study of the Arabic language / kitap talim lorat il arabie / as spoken in Palestine, Egypt / Syria, Baghdad, Morocco, Algiers, Tunisia / easy to study for both minors and adults / (Part One: con-

# ווערטער בוך

צו לעהרנען דיא אראבישע שפראכע

קיטאפ טאלים לאראט איל אראביע

וואס מ'זען שפרייט אין פאלאסטינע (ארץ ישראל) עניפמ'ען (מצרים)  
סוריא, באגדאד (בבל) מאראקא אלגיר, טיניס.

לייבט צו לעהרנען פאר קליין און גראס.

(ערשטער מהייל: קיטאפ פאר אלע נעטהינע ווערטער).

הערויסגעגעבן אין ישראל זילבערמאן.

## ארעססא

געדרוקט ביים פ' א' זעלעני, קראסני סערעאולאק, הויז נ' 3

## С Л О В , Р Ъ

для изученія Арабскаго языка, состав. И. Зильберманъ.

ОДЕССА.

Тип. П. А. Зеленаго (б. Г. Ульриха), Красный переулокъ, домъ № 3.

1882.

Title-page of No. 2 in *Bibliography*  
(The New York Public Library)

tains the most useful words). / Compiled by Israel Zilberman / Odessa, 1882. 24 pp., 8°.

Pages 4-20, in double columns, of this booklet contain various words of daily usage, thrown together without any order or system. The Arabic words are transliterated in Yiddish, with vocalization, to reproduce their enunciation and this is followed by a translation into Yiddish. The same system is employed in the daily conversations on pp. 21-24.

This "Dictionary" was published in the wake of the pogroms of the eighties of the last century in Czarist Russia. These massacres, especially in cities with a Jewish population in Southern Russia, brought about a national revival and an urge to emigrate overseas and to Palestine, the latter being influenced by the movement called "Lovers of Zion" ("Hoveve Zion"). As a result, pioneer "colonists" established several settlements in the ancient fatherland, notably the "colonies" of Rishon-le-Zion, Ekron, Gederah, Yesod Hama'aleh, Rosh Pinah and Zikhron Ya'akov.

For fear of Czarist Russian censorship, the author, in his preface "to the readers", speaks of "the calamities that befell our brethren at the present time in Europe", and of "the ringing call of the patriots to settle Jews in Palestine."

"Because of these [reasons]," the author continues, "I wish to help them as much as possible. But, how may I render this assistance? After all, I am no more than one of the native "Palestinian Jews" ["a giborener errec-yisroel-yud"] among whom you will not find even one descendant of the families of Rothschild, Brodsky and Efrosi [= the first one being Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the other two — famous rich Jewish families in Russia]. Therefore, I can only help you with this little Arabic dictionary which, I hope, will be more useful than money and for which you will be ever grateful to me with each step in the Holy Land."

Relating his own experiences in Europe, which the author visited six years prior to the publication of his booklet and where he was unable to communicate with people because of his ignorance of European languages, he concludes:

"I am therefore convinced that this booklet will help you in case you wish truly to go to Palestine. In it you will find the most useful words for speaking and understanding [the Arabic language]. ...I can assure you that as a result of studying it several times, you will

אָרביע, א פֿיטקע	פֿאַרנייג, א פֿראַבקע
קראַססע, ביינקלעך	קדיח, א גלעויל
קארסע, א שטיהל	קאפּאָני, א גראז
שעמא, לעבט	סינאייג, א טאץ
שיינדאנאם, לייכטער	מאָוולעט לאַהעב, א שפּיל מיט
באפּאר, א לאמפּ	מאָוולע, א מיט
איכאז, א שעריז	פּאטא, א מיט טיף
סעל א קייטיל	מילחאני, א זאלץ מייססיל
וואַרא סינאריע, ציגאר פאפּיר	זשעראם, א גראק
וואַרא קעדש, פאק פאפּיר	בּערמיל, א פאם
פינאר, א לאכטערין	חאבניע, א וואסער פאם (מאדמה)
מאקאניי, א יארמיקע	רעליאן, א לולקע
חידארה, ויסע שפּיו	קאם, א זאק
דאָווא, א רעצעפט	דינאן, א מירקיש בעט
שאַרפּא, א לאקסיר מיטער	סאנדאק, א קאסטין
קאניניעט היבער, א מינט פאם	פינאנאין, שעליבער
אסאיי, קאדיב א שטעקין	פינאנאן, א קאפע טאל
אימבראניע, א שפיגל	סאחען א מערער
פראש, בעט ציג	סאבין, א מעסער
סאקאר, ציקער	מאלאה, א לעפיל
סאקאר פאדיע, קאנדיל ציקער	שאקא, א גאפיל
ער ויסיר, דיא בריק	דיסם, א קעסיל
על איגלאל, דער פאק זאמער	באסער, א קליין קעסיל
ער, ערע, דער רייט זאמער	מענגערני, א קיפערנער טאפּ
ספינג, א שוואם	מאבאחא, א קעכין
חיסאן, פאדים	מילעם, א לעהרער
חאריה, וייד פאדים	סאנאד, א יענער
חבאל, שטריק	ארבאניע, א קאמסער
חיסן מאסים, שפאנאם	קאראסע, א קאליאם
אימסערקע, א זאק גאדיל	מאפּטאח, א שליסעל
דעף, ברעסער	קיפער, א שראם
פערט, א רעוואלווער	באָוואבשטי, דווארניק
פערשאק, קארטאושין	אָקערה, א הויז קנעכט

not have to call for help on the local brokers who wait at the sea shores and are ready to swallow you like a bridegroom [eyes] the twisted white loaf following the marriage ceremony."

— — — איך פערזיכער אייך אז ווען איהר וועט מיין ביכעל עטליכע מאהל איבער לערנען, וואט [וועט] איר געוויס ניט דארפען אָנקימען צו דיא דאָרטיקע מעקלערס, וואס שטעהען ביי דיא ברעגען פֿין מעער, אונ קיקען אויף אייך ארויס, אייך אן צושלינגען, אזוי וויא א חתן נאָך דער חופה אויף א גע-פלאַכטענעם קוילעטש).

On the back of the cover, the author informs his readers of the publication "in about two weeks" of Part Two of his "Dictionary" which will include various useful conversations. It will also have a description "of all Arab customs as well as a biography of the Mohammedans, Arab Jews and Christians." This part was never published.

3. [מענדעלאַוויטש, אדאָלף]. דער יודישער עמיגרנט אין ארץ-ישראל / מעתאדע צו לערנען אראביש / אליין אן איין לעהרער / אין איין זייער קורצע צייט / פרייז: 1 פראנק. [יפו, 1912?]. 32 עמ', 16°.

[Mendelovitch, Adolphe]. The Jewish Emigrant in Palestine / A Method for the Study of Arabic / without a teacher / in a very short time / Price: 1 Frank. [Jaffa, 1912?]. 32 pp., 16°. The name of the author is given on the verso of the title page.

In his preface, "To the public!" (pp. 3-4), the author explains the aims of his manual as follows:

"To the public!

By publishing this little book, A Method for the study of Arabic without [the help of] a teacher, in a very short time, I am [trying] to solve a highly interesting problem, namely that of the Jewish emigrant in Palestine.

The Jewish emigrant, whether he arrives in Palestine to settle or only to travel about, suffers much on account of the [Arabic] language.

By making use of this method, the Jewish tourist is able to learn the language in the course of 4 weeks, and by it to spare himself many inconveniences caused by an Interpréte and especially when one is unable to pay for an Interpréte.

For one who decides to settle in this country, this method is especially helpful, for it puts the words into his mouth without much labor.

Nowadays we see many a farmer and many Jewish businessmen, who, already 4-5 years in the country, are unable to converse with or to understand the Arab.



דער יודישער עמינראנט אין ארץ־ישראל.

## מעתאדע צו לערנען אראביש

אליין און איין לערער

אין איין זייער קורצע צייט



פרייט: 1 פראג

Title-page of "metode cu lerne arabiš"  
(A Method for the Study of Arabic)

(Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary)

For we lack [the facilities of the] evening classes as well as the desire to study the Arabic language.

Hundreds of emigrants leave the country for they do not know the language. They would have undoubtedly found employment if they knew the language of the country.

My book is not a thorough method for the study of the Arabic language; it only opens the way to it, and thus enables the Jewish emigrant to understand the Arab and to answer him.

I hope that my method will serve the purpose for which it is designed, and that will be my reward."

For a booklet of only 32 pages, the contents are well balanced: pp. 5-7 contain the Arabic alphabet, each character in its four forms; pp. 9-10 — the numerals as they appear in Arabic; pp. 11-12 — pronouns and the most necessary verbs; p. 13 — the seasons of the year, the names of the days and months, divisions of time; pp. 14-22 contain a Yiddish-Arabic vocabulary alphabetically arranged; pp. 23-30 — brief conversations in the form of questions and answers; p. 31 — selected phrases in colloquial Arabic; p. 32 — "Turkish money" and "money current in Palestine".

The pronunciation of the Arabic is reproduced by vocalization, and the words are sometimes explained by Hebrew translation, the Yiddish being somewhat 'germanized', e.g.:

געוויין (בצע) בקשיש, זענען (בברכה) בן־קע, זעע(ים) בַּחֲקֶר, טַרְגֵּעַ (עצל)  
פֶּסֶלֶן, לֶאָדֵּעַ (אירון) סַנְדֹּק, מַאֵל (פעם) חֶסְרָא, מַאֵס (מדה) קֶצֶלֶע, מַאָנֵד (לבנה)  
אַמְמֶר, מִיטֵעַ (תֵּן) אויעסט, מִיטענאַכט (הצות לילה) נוס לל, מַעֲסִיאַס (משיח)  
מַסִּיאַח, עֵלֶע (אמה) דֶּרֶאָה, פֶּאָן (מן) בֵּן אָוֶן פּפּוּג (מחרשה) קִיקֶע, קאַנאַל  
(תְּצִלָּה) זשורֶה, קאַנטֶאָ (חשבון) אַחֲסָאָב, קוטשער (נָכַב) אַראַבּוּשִׁי.

4. [גערסטל, וואָלף]. שרשי לשון הקודש [ממעל לזה רשום:  
אראביש, סוריש, לשון ערב ולשון סורי. ספר למוד שפת עבר, לשון סורי ולשון  
ישמעאל] מיט פיל רעגלען פון דער גראמאטיק פון לשון הקודש (דיקדוק). /  
אראביש, סוריש און אראביש, עגיפטיש. / — — — [לעמבערג, בלי שנת דפוס].  
21 עמ', בתבנית 4° גדולה.

[Gerstl, Wolf]. The Roots of the Holy Language [with an upper title: Syrian Arabic, (the classical) Arabic language, and the Syriac language]. With numerous rules of the grammar of the Holy Language, / Syrian Arabic and Egyptian Arabic. / Lemberg, no date. 21 pp. in large 4°.

The author, Wolf Gerstl, was Rabbi in his home-town Jaryczów,

Eastern Galicia (born there 1861), a position which he had to resign for occupying himself with astronomy, botany, and Oriental languages, and thus, in the opinion of his townspeople, "wasting his time" instead of studying the Talmudical law. He moved to Lemberg where he pursued his studies unmolested, giving up his Rabbinate, and publishing books on matters close to his heart (he died there in 1932).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the book listed above he published among others two books on astronomy *ספר חכמת תקופות ומזלות* (Lemberg, 1897) and *חכמת תקופות ומזלות* (Lemberg, 1907)<sup>2</sup> as well as an edition of *מגלת אסתר* with a philological commentary, and a Yiddish translation of the first five pages of the Talmudical tractate B'rakhoth (both, no date, in my collection).

It is the most curious entry in this list. Designed as a textbook (as its sub-title *לשון סורי ולשון ישמעאל* indicates) it is as colorful a collection as the author himself could arrange in an order where confusion is the rule. By a process of reduced photographic reproduction, he managed to crowd into his "textbook" a few chapters of the Syriac translation of the Pentateuch, Assyrian cuneiforms, samples of an Arabic Bible translation, together with "Syrian-Arab grammar", "Semitic alphabets and languages" and also two pages of Azariah de-Rossi's book *מאור עינים* (pp. 450-451 of David Cassel's edition, Vilno, 1866) only because of a drawing of the Samaritan alphabet and the alleged "Holy Shekel."

The pages 12-14 include, by photographic reproduction, pp. 12-30 of the well-known *Arabische Konversations-Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1898) by Ernst Harder, while the margins are filled in with a German-Arabic dictionary (apparently from Harder's *Deutsch-Arabisches Handwörterbuch*). Page 21, on the other hand, is a mixed composite of the Arabic alphabet in "its four appearances", the Arabic names of the months and a map of Palestine (apparently from the Baedeker for Syria) with Hebrew hand-lettering over the place names.

The following are some of the rules of Arabic grammar as explained by the author (pp. 4-7):

The Semitic languages, like the Holy language and Arabic, have

1. Biographical data on him are to be found in Zalman Reyzen, *Lexicon* (Yiddish), I (Vilno, 1926), 602, and Gershon Bader, *מדינה וחכמה, Galician Jewish Celebrities* (Vienna, 1934), 68.

2. Listed in *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliography*, II (1897), 100 and XV (1911), 2.

but two genders, a masculine and a feminine. The feminine in the Holy language is distinguished by gamec and 'ה, and in Arabic by the ending "a" or "e", e.g. באידא balda, egg, באידאט baidat, eggs.

There appear also irregular endings, as ראגיל ragul, man; רגעל rgäl, men; בית bait, house; ביות bjut, houses; כתב ktab, book (ספר); כותוב kutub, books, etc.

Most Arabic words end in "un.", e.g. ראגולון rgäulun [ragulun] (the גימל is pronounced like dž, radžulun), man; כבירון kabirun, large. In case they are determined by the definite article, the "un" is lost, e.g. ארראדזשולו arrägulu, the man.

As in the Holy language, the possessive pronoun is a suffix, as ספר, my book כתאבי ktabi; ספרך, thy book כתאבק ktabak which is masculine; כתאביק ktabik, feminine; ספרו, his book כתבו ktabo, masc.; כתבה ktaba, fem.

The auxiliary verb "to have" is lacking both in the Holy language and in Syrian Arabic. Instead the Hebrew uses the word [adverb] יש לי — יש (I have) there is to me — and the Syrian Arabic employs the word [preposition] אונד ind, by the side of; אינדי with me (I have), for instance אַרביע אינדי I have a wagon, eindi earabije; אינדאק eindak, you have, masc.; אינדיק, you have, fem.; אינדא eindo, he has, masc.; אינדא einda, she has, fem.

לי לא, li, la, or illi means to me. לי בית li bait, I have a house (it belongs to me); לאק or אילאק lak — ilak, to you masc.; לאקי laki — illk, to you fem.

The author explains the superlative in Arabic thus:

The comparative מם הדימין in the Holy language is a sign of the superlative, for instance טוב שם משמן טוב [Ecclesiastes 7:1], טובה טובה [Lev. 21:10]. Corresponding to it in Arabic is a "patah" in the first and last syllable, e.g.: כביר kbir, great; אכבר akbar, greater; כתור ktir, much; אכתאר aktar, more; גאמיל gamil (the "ג" is pronounced as dž — džamil) beautiful; אגמאל agmal, more beautiful; אקאל akall, less, e.g. אינטע (ע) מיגטהעד int(e) migthed akall min chajjak, you are less diligent than your brother.

5. זעליקאוויץ, ג[עצל]. ترجمان عربي ويودي — אראביש-אידיש-שער לעהרער / וועג ווייזער פאר די אידישע לעגיאנערן אין ציון / פון פראפ. ג. זעליקאוויץ / געוועזענער הויפט-דאלמעטשער / פיר אראביש מיט פעלד-מארשאל / לארד קיטשנער אין עגיפטען. ניו-יארק. 1918. 32 עמ', 8°.

[שער נוסף באנגלית]:

Selikovitch, G[ecl]. Arabic Yiddish Guide / Arabic-Yiddish Dialogue for the use / of the Jewish Legion in Palestine / By Prof. G. Selikovitch / Formerly Head Interpreter / with Lord Kitchener / in Egypt. New York, 1918. 32 pp., 8°.



Title-page of "arabiš-idišer lehrer" (Arabic Yiddish Guide), published in New York 1918 for the use of the Jewish Legion in Palestine.

(Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary)

It was originally published, in the same year, in the New York Yiddish daily "idišer tageblat" (Jewish Daily News). A third edition, of the same year, without essential changes (the English title page is missing, and the Arabic alphabet is on the verso of the Yiddish title page instead of being printed on p. 32 of the first edition), is in my collection.

As the aim of this guide is already stated on its title-page and reiterated on its verso ("A practical method to acquire in a month the spoken Arabic of Palestine and Egypt"), it will suffice to quote from the preface how the author hoped his method would be used:

"As you may see, this method does not avail itself of the Arabic script (only the alphabet is copied out of curiosity) and I have even endeavored to avoid spelling Arabic correctly in Hebrew letters in the way Sephardim do it nowadays. I employ our Yiddish phonetics in the Ashkenaz manner, as for instance: you do not find in this method ערבי (Arabic) but א'רבי, not תלחא (three) but מלאמא, not ערן (enemy) but א'רן. Naturally, if facilities were available for printing the Arabic words with vocalization, I would be able to reproduce the correct Arabic spelling in the same way that the Rambam [Maimonides] wrote his Arabic books in Hebrew letters. As this method is printed without vocalization the best way then would be our Yiddish phonetics in the Ashkenazic manner. We write for instance הוּא סאקאן פי מאדינא קאבירא (He lives in a great country) instead of the correct spelling הוּא שכן (He lives in a great country) instead of the correct spelling הוּא שכן פי מדינה כבירה which reads, with Arabic vowels, the same as הוּא סאקאן פי מאדינא קאבירא as we Ashkenazim write our Yiddish.

The author sincerely hopes that this short, practical Arabic-Yiddish method will be of great help, not alone to the Jewish heroes in Zion, but to farmers, businessmen, tourists and enlightened men as well, who will assist in building a new free community in the Holy land."

The "guide" is arranged in twelve lessons. The first nine are of Arabic words and phrases chosen haphazardly and the pronunciation is far from that of colloquial Arabic, so that its usefulness is, at best, doubtful. Lessons ten and eleven deal with some rules of Arabic grammar, viz. the article, the noun, adjective, pronoun and verb, while the twelfth lesson contains the "most necessary conversations", among which one may find (on pp. 29-30) such "necessary" phrases as:

אליאהוד אלמוסאממי, רעפארמער" יאדחאקו מין מאשאכא יאהודיא  
 "The Jews called "reformed" laugh at [the idea of  
 a] Jewish Republic.'

# אַראַביש ווערטערביכער

מיט געשפרעכען

מיט דעם אַריגינעלען אַראַבישען אַלף־בית  
אין זיינע סער געשטאַלטען

סערלאַג, אַלמאניראַנד.

וואַרשא, 1920

ווערטיג פֿאַר אַלע אַרעבישע אַלף־בית.

Title-page of "arabiš verterbikhel" (Arabic Vocabulary) with  
conversations and daily usages, designed for Jewish emigrants  
to Palestine (Warsaw, 1920).

(From the author's collection)

ליי מא ידחאקו? א'קעלהום מאסמום באלפאלאטאפא קאדיבא  
 'Why shouldn't they laugh? their sense (is) poisoned with a false philosophy'.  
 יאקולי טרוצקי פאלאטא ווא-א'באר פי באררא  
 'It is said that [the Bolsheviki leader, Leon] Trotsky escaped and went abroad.'  
 אממא כבאר אל-פאליטאטו מוש ריסמי  
 'But the news about his escape is not official.'

The Arabic alphabet promised by the author to be "copied out of curiosity", is reproduced here in the *abjad* manner and is indeed a curiosity.

6. [טרוצקס, יצחק]. אראביש / ווערטערביכעל / מיט גע-  
 שפרעכען / מיט דעם אריגינעלען אראבישען אלף-בית / אין זיינע פיער געשטאל-  
 טען. פערלאג "אלטניילאנד", ווארשא, 1920 / פרייז 2.50 מארק. 23 עמ', בחבנית  
 8° קטנה.

[Trivaks, Isaac]. Arabic / Vocabulary / with Conversa-  
 tions / With the Original Arabic Alphabet / in its Four  
 Forms. Warsaw, 1920. 23 pp., small 8°.

The conversations are arranged under the following sub-  
 ject headings: the family; craftsmen; plants [fruits and  
 vegetables]; food; house and utensils; in the street and on  
 the highway; time; in the atmosphere [climate]; the human  
 body; clothing; animals and domestic animals; and miscel-  
 laneous, in addition to common phrases of daily life and some  
 rules of grammar.

Designed for Jewish emigrants to Palestine, it was ap-  
 parently found useful, for it appeared in several editions. For  
 a Palestine reprint, see No. 10.

7. טישלר י.; אפשטיין, יצחק, מנחים למקצת המכשירים והמלאכות של  
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 24—28. [למעלה רשום: ההסתדרות הכללית של העובדים בארץ-ישראל.  
 ועדת-התרבות, יפו].

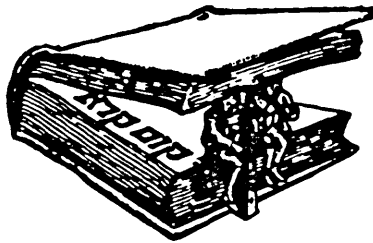
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 I. Tishler and Yichaq Epstein. Published in *Hathalah*, a pub-  
 lication of the Committee for cultural activities of the Jewish  
 Workers Organization, II, Jaffa, 1922, pp. 24-26.



# אראביש ווערטערביכעל

מיט געשפרעכען

מיט דעם אריגינעלען אראבישען אלף-בית  
אין ווייניגער געשטאלטען



מיט באשטעלונגען ווי צו ווענדען:  
"ביום פערלאג און בוכהאנדלונג "קום קרא"  
הל-אביב רח' המלך ג'ורג' החמישי פנת בצלאל, מינקובסקי יוסף.

Another edition of "arabiš verterbikhel" (Arabic Vocabulary),  
reprinted in Tel Aviv, Palestine, 1936.

(From the author's collection)

This list reflects to some extent the situation in the building trade of the twenties of this century when Jewish pioneers arrived in Palestine, mostly from Eastern Europe. They first acquired various skills from Arab masons, but after a short time they were able to introduce new methods of their own.

The list contains 48 terms arranged in four columns: Hebrew, Yiddish, Arabic, and an explanation of their use in the trade. (The terms in Hebrew and Arabic are vocalized). Thus, we find listed among other terms:

עברית	יודית	ערבית	באור
שוה את הקרקע	גלייך אויס דעם באדען	צלח-אל-ארד	ישר את פני האדמה
חול גס	גראבער זאמד	זיסוין	שגרירי גדולים
חול דק	פיינער זאמד	רמל נאעים	שגרירי קטנים
סיד חי	ניט געלאשענער קאלך	כלס מוש מוטפי	מחסר מים
מלט	בעטאן-מערטעל	מבוליה	תערובת של צמנט, חול ומים
השקה את הבטון	בעגיס דעם בעטאן	רש אל-ביטון	זרוק עליו מים
מדוך	איינקלאפער	מטבה	לדוך את הבטון
תקע את היתדות	שטעק איין די פלעקלעך	דק אל-אותאד	נעץ את היתדות באדמה
השפל את האנך	לאס אפ דעם פיאן	נזל אל-מיזאן	מערכת הקורות והנסרים
עמדה [=פיגום]	ריסטאואניע	אסקאלה	שעליהם עומד הבנאי בשעת מלאכתו

8. די אראבישע שפראכע. לעזען, שרייבען און שפרעכען אין 1 וואך פיר 1 שילינג. ירושלים, תרפ"ה. 40 עמ', 8°.

The Arabic Language. Reading, Writing and Speaking in 1 week for 1 shilling. Jerusalem, 1925. 40 pp., 8°.

Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Semah Cecil Hyman, Jerusalem, I am able to describe this booklet de visu:

The anonymous author has arranged the material in the following order: the Arabic alphabet, its enunciation and the four forms of each letter; Arabic numerals in transliteration; Personal Pronouns; the Present Tense of four verbs (I have, I want, I am, I walk); elements of time, including the names of the days of the week and the months.

This introductory material is followed, on pp. 9-24, by a vocabulary of 606 words in Yiddish (some in a Germanized

form), arranged alphabetically, with an Arabic transliteration. This in turn is followed, on pp. 25-38, by conversations, some of them presented in both Arabic script and transliteration.

A curious item, on p. 40, concludes this booklet, namely צוקונפטיגעס געלד, 'the money of the future,' the author undoubtedly having in mind an independent Jewish state in Palestine. He mentions the following seven denominations:

1 דינער 1 ענגלישער פונט / 1 דינער 10 שקלים / 1 שקל 2 האלבע שקלים / 1 שקל 4 דראכמונים / 1 דרכמון 25 פרוטות / 1000 פרוטות 1 דינר.

It is interesting to note that of these denominations, actually came into use in the money system of the State of Israel.

9. קלר [קעלער], חיים. לערן אראביש / א לייכטע סיסטעמע צו ערלערנען / די אראבישע שפראך / פון / חיים קלר. תל-אביב, 1935. 104 עמ', 8°.

Keler, Hayyim. Study Arabic / An Easy System to Acquire / The Arabic Language, Tel Aviv, 1935. 104 pp., 8°. (In my collection).

This textbook is a translation from the author's Hebrew למד ערבית, of the same year, and is the best available in Yiddish for the study of the colloquial Arabic of Palestine.

Its brief preface states that "the chief aim of the author is to enable everyone of us to come into contact with our neighbors, the Arabs, so that we may understand one another. By understanding the other's language, one may avoid many an inconvenience and sometimes dangerous situations and occurrences..."

The material is systematically arranged in a manner easily understandable by a beginner, and the subjects discussed are based on the life of the Arab and the customs of the country. Grammar rules follow each conversation and reading exercises are added in Arabic, transliterated with vocalization, and a translation into Yiddish, e.g.:

السوق	اليوم	كنت
אָקסוק	אָליום	כְּנֶת
מאַרק	היינט אין	כִּבִּין געווען
بردقانة	اربعين	واشتريت
בורדקאנא	אַרבעצין	נשפּרית
מאראנצן	פערציק	און האָב געקויפט

Or, a phrase connected with administrative duties is rendered as follows (p. 84):

אלטאב	דאטע	פי	אליום	קנט
אקטאב	דאטע	פי	אליום	קנט
טאבו	אפטיילונג פון	אין דער	היינט	כיבין געווען
	אויסקו	זראב	דפעת	
	אלינקו	זראב	דפעת	
וויקא-שטייערן	די	די	כאב באצאלט	

10. אראביש / ווערטערביכער / מיט געשפרעכען . . . תל-אביב, [1936]. 23 עמ', בחבנית 8° קטנה. תדפיס מחדש של מס' 6.  
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Ashkenazic cursive handwriting of the 17th Century.

Includes details on the Ashkenazic Jewish communities of Safed and Jerusalem, with accounts of Halukah among other entries.

The Pinkas of Jerusalem begins with folio 137A of the Ms., preceded by notations of daily purchases and followed by accounts of donations to the Ashkenazic community in Jerusalem. A list of Jewish notables in Poland to whom letters were despatched (among others **כתב לראשי** **פת' לראשי קהילת מעריין** and **ג' ארצות**) is also included.

The notations are in part written on the margins of pages including Midrashic writings in a Jewish oriental handwriting (from Egypt?) of the sixteenth century.

פנקס טבריה Ms. 1791, Acc. No. 0190 (The Pinkas of Tiberias). From the Mss. collection at the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Ashkenazic cursive handwriting of the 18th century. The title-page, in an ornamented frame (entitled **פנקס פתוח והיד כותבת להעלות על ספר** **כל איש אשר ידבנו לבו לתת את תרומת ה' ... לכוון את בית ה' באדמת הקדש...** (רק זה זו טבריא תובב"א הגיבורים היושבים בכל ערי אשכנז יע"א) is written in Sephardic Rashi handwriting.

The Pinkas includes accounts of donations by Jewish communities and individuals in Germany collected, by mutual agreement, for the Sephardim of Tiberias and the Ashkenazim in the whole of Palestine, by the emissaries R. Abraham Azulai (son of the famous bibliographer and prolific Rabbinical writer, R. Hayyim Joseph David Azulai) and R. Asher Ashkenazi (probably R. Asher b. R. Eliezer, whose signature appears on a letter of the year 1789, published by I. Ben-Zvi, *Kirjath Sepher*, III [1926-27], 305).

Signatures of Rabbis and leaders of various Jewish communities in Germany are affixed to letters of introduction in the Pinkas together with a notation of their donations.

The Pinkas is especially important for the history of the Ashkenazim in Palestine and their relations with the Sephardim and with the institution of Halukah.

Eight documents from the Pinkas of Tiberias (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17), under the title *לחולדות ישוב החסידים בא"י* (On the History of the Settlement of the Hasidim in Palestine) were published by Barukh Toledano in the Hebrew daily *Haarez*, Tel-Aviv, No. 2437 (1927).

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## WORD INDEX

I. *Arabic Words*

(The numbers refer to the paragraphs of the vocabulary.)

- abadan 474  
 ab'ād minnak 480  
 'abāye 409  
 abraş 511  
 absar 473  
 abū başl 453  
 abū el-naẓẓarāt 527  
 abū ġāġ 452  
 abū kirşe 584  
 abū rakuba 512  
 'afārim, 'afārim 'alēk 486  
 'afrit 499  
 'afula 691  
 aga 579  
 'aġam 239  
 'aġibe 484  
 ahla wa sahla 12  
 aḥsan min balāş 19  
 aḥz 'alēk 52  
 'akrūt 58  
 'ala bāb allāh 111  
 'ala kēfak 109  
 'ala kis el barūn 110  
 'ala rabaṭi 30  
 'ala rāsī 28  
 'ala rāsi w'ala 'ayni 29  
 'ala şubḥ 516  
 'ala tūl 112  
 'allāh karīm 40  
 allāh ya'tik 42  
 a'ma 509  
 'amaliya 547  
 'ambār — see: anbār  
 am(e)r 185  
 amlāk wergusu — see: werko
- ana min hōn 528  
 anā wāyyāk 115  
 anbār 270  
 'andaq 419  
 'aqrab 447  
 arādī bēt ilmāl — p. 178  
 arādī emiriye — p. 178  
 arādī ḥaraġiye — p. 178  
 a'raġ 510  
 'araq 319  
 'arbaġi 379  
 'arḍhal 192  
 arḍišōki 326 —  
     see also: ḥarşūf  
 arḍiye 359, 391  
 'arş 60  
 aşil 446  
 'askar 166  
 'askariye 545  
 aşl al'uşul — p. 177  
 aṭraş 508  
 'attāl 377  
 awanṭaġi 67  
 awlād il-mīt 233  
 'ayūn qārā 692  
 aywā 25  
 'azara 133
- bābūniġ 454  
 bābūr 506  
 bābūr ḥidewī 507  
 badal 552  
 baghl 443  
 baḥer 431  
 baḥraġi 381

- baḥšīš 144  
 baḥt 163  
 bairām 564  
 baiyāra 435  
 bakira 668  
 balaḥ 598  
 balamīda 300  
 balāš 19, 126  
 ballāte 357, 360  
 ballūt 678  
 bāmiyā 327  
 bandōra 323  
 bandūq 493  
 baṇṭalōn 410  
 baqalā 585  
 baqar 442  
 baqlāwe 321  
 barake 485  
 barake 147 — see: mabruk  
 barārī 439  
 bariq 612  
 barmaki 666  
 barrānī 141  
 barrāq 612  
 bārūd 348  
 bāšā 171  
 baṣal alfār 454  
 bašet(e) 68  
 baš kātib 182  
 bašš 690  
 bass 20  
 bass hat 20  
 baṭāl 83  
 baṭrak 264  
 baṭṭīḥ 345  
 bayārgī 601  
 baydar 433  
 bāzār 618  
 bedel 'askariye 216  
 beg 580  
 beḥbeḥ 237  
 beladī 79  
 bēlasān 459  
 belediye 212, 213  
 bet il-karrōsa 217  
 bidar kittān 462  
 biḥyāt allāh 50  
 biḥyātak 47  
 bi'l-maiyit 148  
 binbāši 541  
 birke 436  
 bīr sālīm 693  
 bis 470  
 bišlik 394  
 bisse 470  
 biṭār 664  
 biṭār belediye 664  
 bizyāde 504  
 biz-zōr 118  
 bōliṣiye 205  
 bōya 382  
 bōyaḡi 382  
 bšīr ḡēr 105  
 bšīr kweyis 105  
 buḡmat 69  
 bukra 475  
 bukra fi'l mišmiš 15  
 bukra fi'l ṣubeḥ 475  
 bül 223  
 bülīš 164  
 burdqān 336  
 burṭāš 353  
 buṣṣēl 454  
 būza 315  
 buzur safarḡal 459  
 byōš 440  
 çiftilik 531  
 dabbak 249  
 dabbūr 673

- dabbūra 361  
 ḍabi' 448  
 daḥīlak 44  
 daḥīl allāh 43  
 dallal 248  
 dallāl 140, 248  
 ḍamman 217  
 daran 694  
 darbīye 217  
 darwīš 568  
 dayyūs 59  
 dēbbe 448  
 debke 249  
 debš 354  
 dēr 263  
 dīr bālak 34  
 dōm 437  
 dōr 449  
 dughri — see: yamm dughri  
 duḥūliye 553  
 dülbend 625  
 dummāl 702  
 dundurma 316  
 dunum 405  
 dura 429  
  
 efendi 253  
 el-iḥtyār 688  
 el-yahūdiya 699  
 eskidinya 340  
 'etla' 469  
 eṭla' barrā 2  
 'eyb 'alēk 51  
  
 faḥḥ 676  
 falafel — see: filfil  
 falaq 210  
 falḥa 428  
 fanār 275  
 fantazia 422  
  
 faramān 186  
 farḥa 629  
 fārrar 224, 232  
 fās 680  
 fašak 684  
 fašar 22  
 fašīle 161  
 fataḥa 641  
 fatwa 254  
 fellāḥ 243  
 fez 406  
 filfil 328  
 fiṅṅān 581  
 fiqh — p. 177  
 fitte 293  
 fō(q) 107  
 franḡella 294  
 franḡī — p. 216  
 frike 588  
 fsēsi 674  
 furḡa 627  
 furḡe balāš 126  
 furrēra 425  
 furṭūna 155  
 fuṣṭān 413  
 fustuq 347  
  
 gabaday 500  
 ḡabalī 557  
 gabella 220  
 ḡahannam 483  
 ḡaḥḥa 505  
 ḡāhil 488  
 ḡaḥīš 444, 490  
 ḡahl 488  
 ḡāmi' 256  
 gaml 311  
 ḡāmūs 669  
 ḡaraḥ 378  
 ḡaras 607



- gargezan 675  
 ġarra 94, 278  
 ġarrāḥ 378  
 gasal — see: qaṣal  
 ġedā 89  
 ġemal 445  
 ghafīr 168  
 ghaṣban 'anhu 119  
 ghašīm 95  
 ghāz 281  
 ghāzī 544  
 ghurbal 682  
 ġibha 614  
 ġiftlik 531  
 ġihād 569  
 ġmile 122  
 Ġoḥā, Ġuḥā 487  
 ġōra 268  
 ġriše 587  
 ġubbe 411  
 gull 423  
 ġummēz 679  
 gumruk 196  
 ġurēn 434  
 guva — see: qogha  
  
 ḥabaši 241  
 ḥabb er-raṣāṣ 462  
 ḥabs 208  
 ḥabs al-rabāṭ 550  
 ḥabsi dām 209  
 hāda hū 21  
 ḥaddām 502  
 ḥaḍīr 348  
 hadīye 521  
 ḥaġar malaki 615  
 ḥaġar ramli — see: kurkār  
 ḥaġaz 204  
 ḥaġġ 415  
 ḥāġġ 251  
  
 ḥaġġār 369  
 ḥaḥām bāšī — pp. 57, 178  
 ḥakam 202  
 ḥakīm 100  
 ḥākūra 643  
 ḥalaṣ 18  
 ḥalāwe 313  
 ḥalīfa — p. 177  
 ḥallaqa 134  
 ḥallī 37  
 (el)-ḥamdu lillāh 41  
 ḥāmle 334  
 ḥammām 524  
 ḥammām bilā moyye 127  
 ḥamra 636  
 ḥamse 152, 262  
 ḥamse fī 'eynak 151  
 ḥamsīn 153  
 ḥān 420  
 ḥanas 476  
 ḥānġi 603  
 ḥanṭūr 417  
 ḥanzīr 642  
 ḥanzīra 608  
 ḥarā 74, 106  
 ḥarab 135  
 ḥarāġ 214  
 ḥarake 129  
 ḥaram 481  
 ḥarāra 464  
 ḥarāse 219  
 ḥarbata 572  
 ḥardal 455  
 ḥarīm 247  
 ḥarrāṭ 430  
 ḥaršūf 326 — see also:  
     arḍišōki  
 harūz 651  
 ḥaṣab 489  
 ḥaṣabiye 368

- hašīde 639  
 hašīš 162, 386  
 hass 325  
 haššāš 386  
 haṭer 116  
 hawa šarqi 153  
 hawāğa 87  
 hāwiye 269  
 hayallā 38  
 hayyāl 165  
 hazāne 271  
 hāzūq 124, 163  
 hḏeyra 696  
 hēr 105, 106, 108  
 heš 149  
 hezaran 518  
 hiğge 188, 227  
 hikmet 'arabiye — p. 289  
 hilbe 591  
 hilfe 650  
 himāye 222, p. 178  
 hinnā 250  
 hišin 619  
 hlund 671  
 hmār 491  
 hōh 597  
 hos 656  
 hōš 267  
 hubbāl 454  
 hubbēze 595  
 huḏarği 380  
 huḏra 380  
 hukm 202  
 hummuş 333  
 huqne 665  
 hurfeş il-ḥamīr 326  
 hurğ 662  
 hurme 247  
 hurriye 216, 217  
 hurūğ 646  
 huşhāş 336  
 huṭṭ fi'l hurğ 159  
 huzāma 461  
 ibriq 280  
 'id al-fiṭr 563  
 'id al kabīr 633  
 'id alqurbān 565  
 idāra 226  
 idārat eş-şahḥiye 213  
 idāre belediye 212  
 ifrāz 198  
 iğtihād — p. 177  
 iḥmār ibn iḥmār 492  
 'hşēni 670  
 iḥtiyāriye 688  
 ilḥas ṭizi 53  
 illā 31  
 illi fāt māt 158  
 imām 255, p. 177  
 (i)mfettiş — see: mfettiş  
 imkayyef 414  
 imşi 468  
 inğil 432  
 inşallāh 39  
 'iqāl 408  
 irğ'a 655  
 istenna 32, 162  
 istenna şway(e) 33  
 itreiyah 478  
 izmīl 606  
 kabāb 296  
 kabak 76, 397  
 kafta 297  
 ka'kuli 611  
 kalb ib(e)n el kalb 493  
 kaleş 418  
 kalipte 677  
 kangá 277

- kannāse 219  
 karab 637  
 karaḥān 61  
 karāwiyā 458  
 karrōsa 419  
 kaškawān 306  
 kāslān 495  
 kastanē 322  
 kātib 533  
 kātib el-'adil 181  
 kattar ḥērak 108  
 kayy 703  
 kayyal 602  
 kāzzāb 494  
 kdiš 162; see also: kediš  
 kediš 659  
 kēf 109, 414  
 kēl(e) 623  
 kelepir 503  
 kif ḥālak 103  
 kilme 515  
 kīna 250  
 kirš 584  
 kīs 110  
 knāfāt el-baḥr 459  
 kubbāye 276  
 kūfiya 407  
 kuḥl 250, 687  
 kurbāğ 139  
 kurdī 102  
 kursī 634  
 kūsā 101, 329  
 kusba 311  
 kuskesōn 308  
 kweyis 24, 105  
  
 laben — see: leben  
 labes banṭalōn 526  
 lakerde 302  
 leben 304  
  
 leffe 624  
 lēmūn 339  
 lğām 661  
 Lifte 245  
 lira anglīzi 621  
 lira bēntu 621  
 lira fransāwīyye 399  
 lira inglīziyye 399  
 lira turkīyye 621  
 lōkanda 604  
 lūbye 331  
 lugan 266  
 lumān 551  
  
 ma'alēš 35  
 ma'āref 536  
 mabrūk 147 — see also:  
     barake  
 mabsūt 104  
 maḍāfe 578  
 mādāni 556  
 madfa' 566  
 madrase 252  
 ma' es-salāme 13  
 māfiš 14  
 māfiš mašāri 14  
 mafrūz 199  
 mafuze 199  
 mağbūliye 356  
 mağīde 393  
 mağlis 548  
 mağnūn 96  
 mağrafe 363, 434  
 maḥaṭṭa 444  
 maḥbūs 208  
 maḥğara 369  
 maḥkame 201  
 maḥkame šar'īye 188  
 maḥlūl 532  
 maḥmūr 663

maḥṣī 329  
 maḥsibği 229  
 maḥsum 522  
 maḥşüş 117  
 maḥzan 272  
 mal'ün 66  
 māmūr 534  
 mal'ün auwal dūn 66  
 māmūr el-ğarād 534  
 manafşe 459  
 manfūḥ 289  
 maṇqal 286  
 mara 247  
 marbuṭ 576  
 marḥabā 11  
 marmarie 454  
 ma'rūf 43, 121, 472  
 maşāri 142  
 masbaḥa 260  
 maşbane 311, 324  
 maşhara 125  
 maşi 444  
 maskōbi 233  
 maslaḥ 388  
 maşriyīn 559  
 maşrūf 620  
 maşşar 288  
 maştabe 273  
 maştarīn 364  
 matrūka — p. 180  
 maydan 633  
 mā' ward 457  
 mawāt — p. 180  
 mazād 392  
 maẓbaṭa 189  
 mazbele 450  
 maẓbūṭ 26  
 medde 359  
 meğellet aḥkām el-'adile —  
 p. 177

meğlis idāra — see: idara  
 mesğed 255  
 Mesḥa 442  
 meskīn 86  
 metāliq 395  
 meze 320  
 mfettiş 169  
 mghāra 295  
 mḥammiğ 653  
 middēde 649  
 midmāk 350  
 millet bāşi — p. 57  
 milqaṭ 704  
 min faḍlak 46  
 min fō(q) 107  
 min šān hawā' 519  
 min taḥt 107  
 minkāş 440  
 mīr 'alāi 540  
 mīrī — p. 178  
 misalla 681  
 mişān ḥaṭrak 116  
 mişmiş 341  
 mişwār 130  
 mizān 517  
 mizzi yahūdī 351  
 mkāriye 443 — see also:  
     m<sup>u</sup>kāri  
 mkēyif 81  
 mlabbas 592, 697  
 moghrabī 240  
 moiye 282  
 moskobiye 265  
 mqāwale 605  
 mtarmaḥ 82  
 mu'allim 88, 370  
 mu'āmale 191  
 mu'azzar 65  
 mu'azzar auwal el-bāb 65  
 mu'azzar auwal ed-darrāğ 65

- mubaššir 183  
 mudir 173, 174  
 mufättiŝ 535  
 mufti 179, 254  
 muğtahidîn p. 177  
 muhāğirîn 560  
 muhandis 371  
 muḥarram 221  
 muḥtâr 173, 175, 189  
 muhur 667  
 mukâri 375 — see also:  
     mkâriye  
 mulk — p. 178  
 mu'minîn — p. 177  
 muqâwil 372  
 muqdôn 295  
 muqta 644  
 mušâ'a — p. 180  
 muš lazim 36  
 mustanği 537  
 mutaşarrif 173  
  
 na'am 23  
 nabbût 138  
 nahbe 217  
 nâhiye 173  
 naḥs 70, 238  
 na'na' 456  
 nâranğ 336  
 narğile 421  
 nâri 613  
 naşib 146  
 nawâr 64  
 nebi 257  
 nebi mûsa 258  
 nebi rubîn 562  
 nebi şaleḥ 561  
 nebi suğûd 247  
 nfûs 187  
 niğis 71  
  
 nîl(e) 577, 583  
 nîr 647  
 nuḥl 362  
 nuqta 206  
 nuş(f) 106  
  
 onbâşi 543  
 ôqiye 402  
 oqqa 622  
  
 pare 78, 396  
 pâšâ — see: bâšâ  
 pezeving 73  
 piaster 400  
 pušt 72  
 pūšt(e)mâl 291  
  
 qaḍa 173  
 qâḍi 179  
 qâḍi il-quḍât 180  
 qâim maqâm 173  
 qâlâbaliq 128  
 qamardîn 600  
 qannîne 582  
 qar'a 346  
 qarâmi 654  
 qaramîd 616  
 qarnabiṭ 330  
 qarpuz 345  
 qarya 173  
 qaşal 640  
 qaşib 610  
 qastina 695  
 qauwâs 177  
 qâwûn 345  
 'qḍâme 335  
 qidre 283  
 qirbe 282, 317  
 qird 498  
 qirrât 228  
 qirş 400

- qīšle 207  
 qiyās — p. 177  
 qogha 276  
 qontār 404  
 quffe 367  
 qulqas 596  
 qurmīye 287  
 qurunful 456  
 qūšān 188  
 quşrmal 358  
 quss mart abūk 57  
 quss uhtak 57  
 quss ummak 57  
 qyrbāč 139  
  
 rabi'e 441  
 radif 546  
 raftiye 196  
 rāḥat luqūm 314  
 rahḥāl 575  
 ramadān 259  
 rasan 660  
 rās bīrās 62  
 rasm 188  
 rāsmāl 143  
 rasmī 225, 555  
 rašš 686  
 rās yābis 99  
 rayyis 176  
 roṭl 403  
 rşaş 685  
 ruḥşa 195  
 ruzz 586, 589  
 ruzz mfelfel 309  
  
 şabāb 92, 235  
 şabāḥ el ḥēr 10  
 sabānaḥ 594  
 şab'ānīn 93  
 sabre 80, 343  
  
 şābūn 311  
 şādaq 200  
 şadaqa 42  
 safarğal — see: buzur  
     safarğal  
 sağara 698  
 şağarat el-kīna 677  
 şağarat el-yahūd 677  
 şaḥḥiye 213  
 şāhib 91  
 şāhib el-ghanam 376  
 saḥlab 318  
 şahr 349  
 sahtūt 77, 398  
 salage 635  
 şalah 136  
 salāṭa 307  
 şallāl 156  
 samār 238  
 şamāṭa 571  
 samāwiye 570  
 şāmī 558  
 şammūt 336  
 samne 568 — see also: semne  
 samsara 390  
 sanad 438  
 şandūq — see: şundūq  
 sanğaq 173  
 şaniye 298  
 saqiya 689  
 sarāy(e) 211  
 şarbe 463  
 sardine 303  
 şari'a 252, 254, p. 177  
 şarmūṭa 63  
 şarqiye 153  
 şarrāf 374  
 şatāra 90, 161  
 şāṭir 90, 160  
 sawā 114

- šāwīš 167  
 šēḥ 252  
 šēḥ el-islām 567  
 sektāğ — p. 56  
 semne 305  
 šibriye 246  
 sidr 437  
 šidriye 412  
 šiknāgi 233 — see also sektāğ  
 šiknāz, -i 233  
 Silwān 245  
 simsim 310  
 šīn 284  
 šīniye 284  
 siriğ 311  
 šišmeği 235  
 šitān 497  
 skārsa 631  
 skombriye 301  
 smel 426  
 sūdānī 241  
 sufayfa 599  
 Sugūd 247  
 suḥra 218  
 şulḥ 574  
 sultān 170  
 şu ma lak 113  
 şundūq 274  
 sunna — p. 177  
 sūq 617  
 surbet ilklāb 131  
 şurmāye 222, 496  
 sūs 317  
 şuyūḥ el-yahūd 216  
 šway-šway 33  
 syāse 450  
 ta'al 16, 282  
 ta'al hōn 16  
 tabanğ(e) 683  
 tabbīḥ 237  
 ṭabe 424  
 tablīgh 194  
 ṭabū 188, 189, 197  
 ṭabūn 451  
 tadkire 231  
 tafrān 85  
 taḥḥ il-zān 461  
 taḥmīr 645  
 taḥt 107  
 taḥt amrak 27  
 taḥtarwān 290  
 ṭaiyibe 120  
 ṭak 416  
 ṭalab 205  
 talam 658  
 talfān 84  
 talifa 632  
 talṭīš 353  
 tamām 3  
 tamar hindi 593  
 taqrīr 230  
 ta'rās 59  
 ṭarbūš 406  
 tarğumān 178, 184  
 ṭarī 520  
 ta'rīfe 401  
 ṭarīq sultān(e) 525  
 ṭawīl 513  
 ṭawīl 'ala asnanak 160  
 ṭāwle 292  
 ṭayyāra 427  
 tenbel 97  
 teneke 281  
 tengere 285  
 tēs 98  
 tfaḍḍal 45  
 tfu 'alēk 482  
 ṭḥīne 312  
 tiben 434

- tīn 609  
 tinfil 455  
 tīz 150  
 tōb 626  
 tobği 539  
 toše 573  
 tubaği — see: tobği  
 tubzi 353  
 tunbak 421  
 tūriye 365, 440  
 turmus 332  
 tūt 342  
 tūt beladī 342  
 tūt šāmī 342  
  
 uḍrub 137  
 uğra 203  
 uskut 17  
 'uśr 554  
 uśrud 477  
 ustaz — p. 158  
  
 wādi 157  
 wağa' rās 123  
 wāḥad kilme 145  
 wakāle 193  
 wakīl 193  
 wāli 173  
 wallāh el-'azīm 49  
 waqf — p. 179  
 waqf gheir ṣaḥīḥ — p. 179  
 waqf ṣaḥīḥ — p. 179  
 waqfiye 190  
 waqqāf 373  
 ward 457  
 warqat bül — see: bül  
 warše 373  
 wasīqa 232  
 waṭwāṭ 672  
 wazīr 172  
  
 wergo — see: wērko  
 wērko 215  
 wilāyet 173  
  
 yā baiyī 5  
 yā ḥabībī 6  
 yā ḥaserti 479  
 yā ḥawāğa 87  
 yā ḥmār 491  
 yahūd 233  
 yahūdi mileti — p. 56, 178  
 yāllāh 1  
 yāllāh imši 1  
 yāllāh rūḥ min hōn 2  
 yām fī ġarra 94  
 yamm 3  
 yamm dughri 4  
 yā rēt 48  
 yā salām 9  
 ya šeyḥ 8  
 yā sīdī 7  
 yā zalame 471  
 yeḥrib bētak 54  
 yema 700  
 yil'an abu abūk 56  
 yil'an abūk 56  
 yil'an dīnak 55  
 yūsif afandi 337  
 yuz bāši 542  
  
 zābīt 538  
 zāffa 628  
 zal 705  
 zammara 630  
 Zammārīn 444, 701  
 zankīl 501  
 zār 261  
 za'r 657  
 zarri'a 638  
 za'rūr 344



za'tar 590  
 zāwiye 366  
 zbūn 389  
 zbūn daqar 389  
 zeffe — see: zāffa  
 zelzele 154  
 zēt ḥarwa' 523  
 zētūn 324

zēy it-turāb 132  
 zibl 387  
 zift 75  
 zīfzif 355  
 zil 705  
 ziyāra 249, 261  
 zūfa 454  
 zuwwān 461, 652

## II. *Arabic-Yiddish Words*

abadan 474  
 abad minak 480  
 abaye 409  
 abras 511  
 abu-bačl 453  
 abu-džadž 452  
 abu kirše 584  
 abu el-nadarat 527  
 abu ragabe 512  
 adžemer 239  
 adžibe 484  
 afarem, a' alek 486  
 afrit 499  
 Afule 691  
 aga 579  
 agal 408  
 ahlan usahlan 12  
 akarit 58  
 akhale vesakhale 12  
 akhsan min balaš 19  
 akrab 447  
 akrut 58  
 ala babala 111  
 ala kefak 109  
 ala kef-kefak 109  
 ala kis el-baron 110  
 ala rabati 30  
 ala rasi 28

ala rasi vala ayni 29  
 ala subakh 516  
 ala tul 112  
 alla karim 40  
 alla yatik 42  
 ama 509  
 amaleye, amaliye 547  
 ambar 270  
 amer 185  
 amirelay 540  
 ana min hon 528  
 ana uayak 115  
 andak 419  
 apsar 473  
 arabandži 379  
 aradž 510  
 arak 319, 320  
 ardiye 391  
 ard Khal 192  
 ars 60  
 asil 446  
 askar 166  
 askariye 545  
 askedinye 340  
 atal 377  
 atraš 508  
 auel-den — see: malaun  
 auel-den

avantadžī 67  
 ay naam 23  
 Ayun Kara 692  
 ayva 25  
 azare 133  
 azaren 133  
  
 babur 506  
 babur khidevi 507  
 badel 552  
 bakala 585  
 bakalave 321  
 baker 442  
 bakher 431  
 bakhradži 381  
 bakire 668  
 bakšiš 144  
 balakh 598  
 balaš 19  
 balasan 459  
 balate 360, 615a  
 balut 678  
 bamye 327  
 banduk 493  
 bandure 323  
 barak 612  
 barake<sup>1</sup> 147  
 barake<sup>2</sup> 485  
 barane 141  
 baranuvke 141  
 baratiš 353, 616d  
 barl 443  
 barmaki 666  
 barud 348  
 bašete 68  
 bašetkes 68  
 bas hat 20  
 baš-kateb 182  
 baslakh 295  
 baslakhnik 295, 388

bas(s) 20  
 basye 690  
 batal 83  
 batiakh 345  
 batrak 264  
 bayader 433  
 bayardži 601  
 bayare 435  
 bayram 564  
 bazar 618  
 bedel askeriye 216  
 bek 580  
 beladi 79  
 belediye 212, 213  
 belediye-špitol 549  
 bet il-karosa 217  
 bikhyatak 47  
 bikhyat alla 50  
 biladiye — see: belediye  
 bilmaite 148  
 bin baši 541  
 birke 436  
 Bir Salem 693  
 bis 470  
 bišlik 394  
 bitar 664  
 bitar belediye 664  
 bizakitan 462  
 bizer safardžal 459  
 bizyade 504  
 bizzar 118  
 boka 426  
 bolisiye 164, 205  
 boya 382  
 boyadžī 382  
 brare 439  
 bsir kher 105  
 bsir koyes 105  
 bukhmat 69  
 bukra 475

bukra fil mišmiš 16  
 bukra fil subekh 475  
 bul 223  
 bulis 164  
 burtaš 353  
 buza 315

dabur 673  
 dabure 361  
 dakhilak 44  
 dakhil alla 43  
 dakhuli 553  
 dalal 140  
 dalelen 248  
 damenen 217  
 darbiye 217  
 darviš 568  
 dayus 59  
 debe 448  
 debeš 354  
 debke 249  
 debken 249  
 der 263  
 dir balak 34  
 dom 437  
 duma 702  
 dunam 405  
 dunderma 316  
 dur 449  
 Duran 694  
 duranđi 694  
 dure 429  
 džabaler 557  
 džabali 557  
 džahl 488  
 džakha 505  
 džakhiš, džakhišl 490  
 džakhš 444  
 džam 661  
 džamie 256

džamdže 256  
 džamuz 669  
 džarakh 378  
 džaras 607  
 džare 278  
 džarekhen 378  
 džaren 261  
 džariša 587  
 džarke 278  
 džeda 89  
 džehenem 483  
 džiftlik 531  
 džihad 569  
 džmile 122  
 džokha 487  
 džore 268  
 džube<sup>1</sup> 411  
 džube<sup>2</sup> 614  
 džumez 679  
 džuren 434

efendi 253  
 ekhs alek 52  
 el-ikhtyar 688  
 etla 469  
 etla bara 2  
 eyb alek 51

fafelete rayz 309  
 fakh 676  
 falafel 328  
 falakes 210  
 falakh 243  
 fanar 275  
 fantazia 422  
 farar 224  
 farere 425  
 farkha 629  
 fartune 155  
 fas 680

fašake 684  
 fašar 22  
 fatakha 641  
 fayfes 599  
 fes, feske 406  
 findžan 581  
 firman 186  
 fistukes 347  
 frandželes 294  
 frike 588  
 furdža, furdže 627  
 furdže balaš 126  
 fustan — see: fuste  
 fuste 413  
 fustn — see: fuste  
  
 gabaday 500  
 gabele 220  
 gafir 168  
 gamardin 600  
 gaml 311, 445  
 gandžie 277  
 ganiye 582  
 garbele — see: gabele  
 argezan 675  
 gasal 640  
 gasile — see: gasal  
 gaz 281  
 gazi 544  
 gekašebete 610  
 gird 498  
 gurbal — see: rurbal  
 gule 423  
 gumruk 196  
  
 hada hu 21  
 hadeye 521  
 haruz 651  
 havye 269  
 hos 656

hubal 454  
  
 ibrik 280  
 ibrikl 280  
 id al-bayram — see: bayram  
 id al-fitr 563  
 id al-korban 565  
 idare 226  
 idžera 194, 203 — see  
     also: udžera  
 ifraz 198  
 ikhmar ibn ikhmar 492  
 ilkhas tizi 53  
 illa 31  
 imam 255  
 imfetiš 169  
 imkayef 81, 414  
 imši 468  
 imtarmakh 82  
 indžil 432  
 inšalla 39  
 irdža 655  
 itrayakh 478  
 izmil 606  
  
 kabab 296  
 kabak 76, 397  
 kačkeval 306  
 kadames 335  
 kadi 179  
 kadi-e-kudat 180  
 kakuli 611  
 kalbelik 128  
 kalb ibn el kalb 493  
 kalepirnik 503  
 kaleš 418  
 kalipte 677  
 kanase 219  
 kanevete 330  
 kantar 404

- karakhan 61  
 karakhandže 61  
 karame<sup>1</sup> 287  
 karame<sup>2</sup> 654  
 karamid 616  
 kare 346  
 karosa 419  
 karpuz 345  
 kartuš 687  
 karuiye 458  
 kaslan 495  
 Kastine 695  
 katar kherak 108  
 kateb 533  
 kateb el-adel 181  
 kay 703  
 kayal 602  
 kayefen 414  
 kaymakam 173  
 kavas 177  
 kazab 494  
 kdiš(e) 659  
 kef 414  
 kefiye 407  
 kesa(r)mil 358  
 keyle 623  
 khab erisas 462  
 khabešer 242  
 khabsi dam 209 — see also:  
     khaps; khaps el-rabat  
 khadam 502  
 khader 348  
 khadž 251  
 khadžar malaket 615  
 khadžarnik 369  
 khadž(es) 204  
 khadževen 251, 415  
 khadžezen 204  
 khakeme 202  
 khakemen 202  
 khakim tipeš 100  
 khakure 643  
 khalake 134  
 khalaken 134  
 khalas 18  
 khalave 313  
 khalekon 314  
 khali 37  
 khamam 524  
 khamam-bele-moye 127  
 khamdi dralala 41  
 khamdulala 41  
 khamle 334  
 khamre 636  
 khamse 262  
 khamse fi aynak 151  
 khamsin 153  
 khan 420, 603  
 khanas 476  
 khandradžes 42  
 khandži 603  
 khantur 417  
 khanzir 642  
 khanzira 608  
 khaps 208  
 khaps el-rabat 550  
 khara 74  
 kharadž 214  
 kharake 129  
 kharam 481  
 kharare 464  
 kharase 219  
 kharat 430  
 kharbate 572  
 khareben 135  
 kharemke 247  
 khašab 489  
 khašabiye 368  
 khašašnik 386  
 khase 325

- khaside 639  
 khavadža 87  
 khayal 165  
 khayalla 38  
 khazane 271  
 khazarane 518  
 khazuk 124  
 Khedere 696  
 kheš 149  
 khezama 461  
 khidže 227  
 khikmet arabiye — p. 289  
 khikne 665  
 khilbe 591  
 khilfe 650  
 khine 250  
 khišen 619  
 khlund 671  
 khmar 467, 491  
 khmaye — p. 178  
 khmaye takht surmaye 222  
 khofeš 326  
 khokh 597  
 khordž 662  
 khordž, khotu fil 159  
 khoš 267  
 khsene 670  
 khubeze 595  
 khudradži 380  
 khudrenik 380  
 khumus 333  
 khurdž 646  
 khuriye 216  
 khuškhaš<sup>1</sup> 336  
 khuškhaš<sup>2</sup> 648  
 kidre 283  
 kif khalak 103  
 kilme 515  
 kirat 228  
 kirbe 282, 317, 385  
 kirše 584  
 kišle 207  
 klementine 338  
 knafat el-bakhr 459  
 kofe 367  
 kokhol 687  
 koyes 24  
 krab 637  
 kube 276  
 kukhle 250  
 kulkas 596  
 kurbač 139  
 kurdi 102  
 kurkar 352  
 kurse 634  
 kušan 188  
 kusbe 311  
 kuse 101, 329  
 kuskusu 308  
 kus mart abuk 57  
 kustaynes 322  
 kus ukhtak 57  
 kus umak 57  
 labes bantalon 526  
 lakerde 302  
 leben 304  
 lefe 624  
 librik — see: ibrik  
 Lifte 245  
 liman 551  
 limon 339  
 lira bentu 621  
 lire 399  
 luby 331  
 lugan 266, 612a  
 lukanda 604  
 maaruf<sup>1</sup> 43, 121  
 maaruf<sup>2</sup> 472

mabruk 147  
 mabsut 104  
 madafe 578  
 madede 649  
 madeni 556  
 madfa 566  
 madmak 350  
 madžlase 548  
 madžnun 96  
 mafiš 14  
 mafiš masari 14  
 mafruz, mafruze 199  
 magzan 272  
 makare 375  
 maker 375  
 makhdžere 369  
 makhkeme 201  
 makhlul 532  
 makhmur 663  
 makhše<sup>1</sup> 295  
 makhše<sup>2</sup> 329  
 makhsibdži 229  
 makhsun 522  
 makhsus 117  
 makuš 440  
 malaun 66  
 malaun auel-den 66  
 maleš 35  
 mamur 534  
 mamur el-džarad 534  
 manafše 459  
 mandarinke 337  
 manfukh 289  
 mangal 286  
 marbut 576  
 markhaba 11  
 marmarie 454  
 marselame 13  
 mašar 288  
 masares 142

masbakhe 260  
 masbene 311  
 ma selame 13  
 maši 444  
 maskhara 125  
 maskin 86  
 masriye, masriyin 559  
 masruf 620  
 mastebe 273  
 matruka — p. 180  
 mazat 392  
 mazbate 189  
 mazbele 450  
 mazbut 26  
 medde 359  
 medžide 393  
 medžrefe 363, 434  
 megavale 605  
 mehadžerin 560  
 mehandes 371  
 mekhamadž 653  
 mekhasam 522  
 Melabes 697  
 melabes 592  
 mesale 681  
 metelik 395  
 meydan 633  
 meze 320  
 mgara 295  
 milgat 704  
 min fadlak 46  
 min fo 107  
 min takht 107  
 miri — p. 178  
 mišan haua 519  
 mišan khatrak 115  
 mišlazem — see: mušlazem  
 mišmiš 15, 341  
 mistrie 364  
 mitrayakh 478

mizi yahud 351  
 mkarie 443  
 mkauei 372  
 mkhabisnik 208  
 mkhate 444  
 moskobie 265  
 mualim 88, 370  
 muamale 191  
 muaraf 536  
 muazzar 65  
 mubašir 183  
 mudir 174  
 mufateš 535  
 mufti 254  
 mugraber 240  
 muhur 667  
 mukdon 295  
 mukharam 221  
 mukhtar 175  
 mukta 644  
 mulk — p. 178  
 mušaa — p. 180  
 mušlazed 36  
 mustandži 537  
 mušvar 130  
 muzan 517  
 mužbeliye 356  
  
 nabut 138  
 nakhs 70, 238  
 nane 456  
 napolyon 399  
 nargile 421  
 nari 613  
 nasib 146  
 nasib-zakh 146  
 natal — see: atal  
 nauar 64  
 nebi musa 258  
 nebi rubin 562

nebi salekh 561  
 nidžes 71  
 nifraz — see: ifraz  
 nifus 187  
 nile 577, 583  
 nir 647  
 nukhol 362  
 nukte 206  
 nus kher 106  
  
 oke 622  
 on baši 543  
 onse 402  
  
 palemide 300  
 palette 357, 612b  
 paletter 357  
 paletšik 357  
 pantalones 410  
 pare 78, 396  
 paša 171  
 paštemal 291  
 pezeving 73  
 piaster 400  
 pite 293  
 plakh 243  
 plakhte 243  
 portugal 336  
 psesi 674  
 pušt, puštanes 72  
 puštemal — see: paštemal  
  
 rabie 441, 442  
 rafitiye 196  
 rais 176  
 rakhal 575  
 ramadan 259  
 raš 686  
 rasan 660  
 rasben anu 119



- rašim 95  
 rasmal 143  
 rasmedik 225  
 rasmi 555  
 rasubrasnik 62  
 ras yabis 99  
 redif 546  
 rotl 403  
 rsas 685  
 rukhse 195, 616a  
 rurbal 682  
 ruz 589  
  
 šabab 92, 235  
 sabakh el kher 10  
 sabane 594  
 šabanin 93  
 sabre 80, 343, 522  
 sadeken 200  
 sageye 689  
 sakheb 91  
 sakheb el-renem 376  
 sakher 349  
 sakhiye 213  
 sakhleb 318  
 sakhtut 77, 398  
 salage 635  
 šalal 156  
 salate 307  
 salat mkhamad 257  
 šalekhen 136  
 salvan 245  
 šam 459  
 šamata 571  
 samaveye 570  
 šamer 558  
 šami 558  
 samne 586  
 samsarie 390  
 šamuti 336  
  
 saraf 374  
 saraye 211  
 sardine 303  
 šarmuta 63  
 sartut 398  
 šatare 90  
 šater 90, 498  
 šaviš 167  
 Sedžere 698  
 šekh 252 — see also:  
     šeykh el-islam  
 semne 305  
 seniye<sup>1</sup> 284  
 seniye<sup>2</sup> 298  
 šeykh el-islam 567  
 šibriye 246  
 sidre 437  
 sidriye 412  
 sinade 438, 514  
 šires 311  
 šires-fleyš 299  
 šišmedži 235, 384  
 šitan 497  
 skarsa 631  
 skromberis 301  
 smare 238  
 smel 426  
 šorbe<sup>1</sup> 279  
 šorbe<sup>2</sup> 463  
 sove-sove 114  
 stena 32  
 stena švoye 33  
 suk 617  
 sukhara 218  
 sulkha 574  
 sultan 170  
 šu malak 113  
 sumsum 310  
 sunduk 274  
 surbet ilklab 131

surmaye 496  
sus 317  
susnik 385  
švoye švoye 33

taal 16  
tabandže 683  
tabe 424  
tablir 194  
tabu 188, 191, 197, 200  
tabun 451  
tafran 85  
tak 416  
takhmir 645  
takht amrak 27  
takhtavan 290  
takht surmaye 222  
takrir 230  
taleben 205  
talefen 632  
talfan 84  
tal hon 16  
taltiš 353  
tamam 3  
tamar hindi 593  
taras 59  
tari 520  
tarife 401  
tarik sultan 525  
tavi 513  
tavliye 292  
tayare 427  
tayibe 120  
tekhilzan 461  
telem 658  
tembel 97  
tendžere 285  
teneke 281  
tenekedži 383  
tenfil 455

tes-intayes 98  
tfadal, tfaddal 45  
tfuy 482  
tiben 434  
tin, tine 609  
tinfil — see: tenfil  
tiskire 231  
tkhine 312  
tob 626  
toše 573  
tubdži 539  
tubze 353  
turban 625  
turdžeman 178, 184  
turiye 365, 440  
turmus 332  
tut 342  
tuz 150

udrub 137  
udža ras 123  
udžera 203  
uskut 17  
ušrud 477  
ušur 554

vadi 157  
vakale 193  
vakef — p. 179  
vakfiye 190  
vakhad kilme 145  
vakil 193  
vard 457  
vasika 232  
vatvat 672  
verko 215  
vizir 172  
vokaf 373  
vola el-azim 49  
vorše 373

ya bayey 5  
Yahudiye 699  
ya khabibi 6  
ya khasrati 479  
ya khmar 491  
yalla 1  
yalla imši 1  
yalla rukh min hon 2  
yam 3  
yam dugri 4  
yam fi džara 94  
yaret 48  
ya salami 9  
ya sidi 7  
ya šeykh 8  
ya zelemi 471  
yekhri betak 54  
Yeme 700  
yilan abu abuk 56  
yilan abuk 56  
yilan dinak 55  
yusuf efendis 337  
yuz baša 542  
  
zabet 538

zale 705  
zamara 630  
Zamarin 444, 701  
zangil — see: zankil  
zankil 501  
žaratliye 261  
žaren 261  
zaria 638  
zarure 344  
zata 590  
zavie 366  
zbalnik 387  
zbun 389  
zbun dakar 389  
zefe 628  
zelzele 154  
zeyt kharve 523  
zeytune 324  
zift 75  
zifzif 355  
zil-iltrab 132  
ziyare 261  
zvan 461, 652  
zzar 657





ABOUT THIS BOOK . . .

**Arabic Elements in Palestinian Yiddish**, by Mordecai Kosover, is a unique study in cultural linguistics. Its purpose is to demonstrate how these elements penetrated into Yiddish as a result of intercommunal relations between the members of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine and their Arab neighbors. The study is based upon material secured through direct questioning or in the course of conversation with people of the Ashkenazic community during the author's stay in Palestine in the years 1925 - 1937. In addition, historical and literary sources have been utilized.

The book is divided into three parts: Part One is an historical survey of the Old Ashkenazic Jewish community in Palestine. Part Two explores how the community became acquainted with Arabic; it deals also with characteristic linguistic details. Part Three is a systematic vocabulary arranged according to subject matter demonstrating the extent of the penetration of Arabic into Palestinian Yiddish. Three appendices deal with Ladino words, loan words from Hebrew characteristic of Palestinian Yiddish, and specific Yiddish expressions.

Extracts from Hebrew manuscripts, published here for the first time; an annotated bibliography of Arabic-Yiddish vocabularies; a word index; facsimiles of documents and of title pages of rare printed editions; and an extensive bibliography complete the book.